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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Can We Avoid Catastrophe?
By Reinhold Niebuhr

Nowhere to Go
By R. C. Kennedy

Stassen at the Crossroads
An Editorial

Methodist General Conference
By Harold E. Fey

The World Council Comes to Birth
By Samuel McCrea Cavert

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In This Issue

Reinhold Niebuhr

is, of course, Reinhold Niebuhr—one of the most discussed thinkers of the contemporary world. His article in this number brilliantly reveals how Dr. Niebuhr applies his provocative theological insights to the insistent issues of world politics.

Samuel McCrea Cavert

is general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches. Dr. Cavert's article continues the series dealing with issues likely to arise at the Amsterdam Assembly of the World Council of Churches, which opens in August. The next article, outlining the report which will be submitted at Amsterdam by Commission II—the commission dealing with world evangelism—will be by Bishop Stephen Neill of the Church of England.

Renwick C. Kennedy

has been contributing his sharply etched sketches of southern life to The Christian Century for so many years that his readers scarcely need to be told again that he is minister of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Camden, Ala.

George H. Birney

is the new field editor of The Christian Century. A graduate of Mount Union College and Drew Theological Seminary, Dr. Birney has S.T.M. and Ph.D. degrees from Hartford, is an ordained Methodist minister and has served pastorates in that denomination, has been a member of the editorial staff of the Hartford *Times*, and for the past five years has been a chaplain in the army, serving in the Pacific area, Puerto Rico and the continental United States.

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May 26, 1948

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Calendar of Coming Events

May 24-30. Northern Baptist Convention, Milwaukee.
May 26. United Presbyterian Church General Assembly, New Wilmington, Pa.
May 27. Presbyterian Church, U. S., General Assembly, Atlanta.
May 27. Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., General Assembly, Seattle.
May 28-30. Wisconsin Laymen's Conference, Green Lake.
May 30. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; John Baillie, speaker.
June 3-6. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, San Antonio.
June 4-13. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Wichita.
June 7-10. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Dallas.
June 7-11. American Guild of Organists (Georgia Chapter) Church Music Institute, Atlanta.
June 7-11. Duke Convocation, Durham, N. C.; George A. Buttrick, Theodore P. Ferris, Paul Hutchinson, James Muilenburg, Ralph W. Sockman, Henry P. Van Dusen, speakers.
June 7-11. Northwestern District, American Lutheran Church, Annual Convention, Parkland, Wash.
June 7-13. Lutheran Augustana Synod 89th Annual Convention, Rock Island, Ill.
June 8-13. Evangelical Lutheran Church 18th General Convention, Minneapolis.
June 9-13. Lutheran Free Church 52nd Annual Convention, Willmar, Minn.
June 10-14. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Kansas City.
June 10-18. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Des Moines.
June 12-19. A.F.S.C. High School Institute of International Relations, Boone, Iowa.
June 13-20. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Seattle.
June 14-18. A.F.S.C. Institute, of International Relations, Greensboro, N.C.
June 14-25. Iowa Leadership Training School, Oskaloosa.
June 14-30. School for Accepted Supply Pastors, Emory University, Georgia.
June 14-Aug 6. Union Theological Seminary Conference for Ministers and Religious Leaders, New York City.
June 15-20. Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, Colorado Springs.
Jun 15-20. Finnish Suomi Lutheran Synod 59th Annual Convention, Eveleth, Minn.
June 15-20. United Evangelical Lutheran Church 52nd Annual Convention, Fresno, Calif.
June 19-26. Iowa Laboratory School, Des Moines.
June 20-26. School of Missions, Boulder, Colo.
June 21-26. Church of the Brethren National Leadership Training School, Colorado Springs.
June 21-27. Church of the New Jerusalem in the U.S.A. General Convention, Washington, D.C.
June 23-July 30. Winona Lake School of Theology, Winona Lake, Ind.
June 28-July 16. Westminster Theological Seminary Annual School for Town and Country Ministers, Westminster, Md.
Aug. 22-Sept. 4. World Council of Churches First General Assembly, Amsterdam.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
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Undenominational

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As We Go To Press —

E. & R. Church Completes Action

SINCE the editorial on page 502 was written, the Evangelical and Reformed Church has completed its action approving the proposed union with the Congregational Christian Churches. With affirmative votes required from 23 synods, 24 synods have now met and acted favorably. Ministerial and lay delegates favored union in a 10 to 1 ratio. Seven synods voted "yes" unanimously. Ten synods still have to vote, but the issue, so far as the Evangelical and Reformed Church is concerned, has been settled.

What Happened at Moscow?

A WORLD whose hope of peace had been revived when it was announced from Moscow that the Soviet Union had agreed to talk things over with the United States, was as quickly plunged into gloom by the denial from Washington that any invitation to such talks had been extended. What really happened? Did Mr. Molotov accept an offer that was never made? Or did the U.S. make an offer which it did not think would be accepted, and then renege when it was? Such evidence as the American government has supplied indicates that the latter is nearer the truth.

Was There an Invitation?

PRESIDENT TRUMAN and Secretary Marshall accuse Premier Molotov of trickery by (1) making the exchange with General Smith public and (2) accepting for propaganda purposes an invitation that was never given. Concerning (1), it is enough to say that no competent diplomacy will ever approach another country without being prepared for "leaks." Every foreign office, including our own, constantly uses such leaks as a means of influencing public opinion. Concerning (2), the documentary evidence, both positive and negative, favors Molotov and leaves the President and secretary of state in an equivocal and anything but impressive position. "On the record" the Russians can accuse them of having made an offer and then, when Russia accepted, repudiating it.

What the Record Shows

THE POSITIVE RECORD of this unhappy affair is the text of the first statement by General Smith to Mr. Molotov. This was a long document, most of which simply reiterated complaints that the U.S. has made over and over against Russian policy. But it led to this conclusion, which anyone receiving such a message would have been bound to take as the nub and purpose of the whole document: "As far as the U.S. is concerned, the door is always wide open for full discussion and the composing of our differences.... The members of the Soviet government ... have it in their power to alleviate many of the situations which today weigh so heavily on all international life. It is our earnest hope that they will take advantage of these possibilities. If they do, they will not find us lacking in readiness and eagerness to make our own contribution to a stabilization of world conditions entirely compatible with the security of the Soviet peoples." Mr. Molotov regarded this as an invitation to a parley. What else could he have made of it?

A Convincing Silence

BUT there is convincing negative evidence in the official record that the U.S. was proposing a parley. After Molotov made his reply to General Smith, the American ambassador thought it necessary to make an additional statement pointing out mistakes

and distortions in the Soviet premier's reply. This document also has been made public. Nowhere in all his criticism of what Molotov had said does General Smith so much as hint that the premier had accepted an invitation that had not been extended! Such silence by the man who presented the original declaration on orders from Washington is conclusive evidence that he believed he was taking the first step toward starting mutual discussions.

Molotov "Grabbed with Both Hands"

JUST a year ago Secretary Marshall made a speech at the Harvard commencement which was so little considered in this country that most of the press hardly reported it at all. But Foreign Minister Bevin of Great Britain saw a chance in it and, as he later said to Parliament, "grabbed it with both hands." Out of that grab have come the Marshall plan, ERP, ECA, European Western Union and a major change in the world situation. That is what Mr. Molotov seems to have done again with a new statement by Secretary Marshall which Anne O'Hare McCormick, of the New York Times, says was simply "intended for the record." Molotov has "grabbed with both hands." The Washington administration wasn't ready for that, so it has tried to back out of its approach to Moscow with an undignified scramble of denials, recriminations and explanations-that-don't-explain. Why did Mr. Truman and General Marshall run away from their own offer? We can think of three reasons: (1) If the idea got abroad that the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. were approaching an understanding, the huge expansion of American fighting forces, still in the congressional works, would be drastically scaled down. (2) If the political purpose of the approach, as hinted in many quarters, was to steal some of Wallace's thunder, Molotov's instant acceptance was recognized as support for Wallace's thesis of Russian reasonableness. (3) It may have dawned on the men at Washington that one inescapable requisite for successful talks would be final and official repudiation by the U.S. of the Truman Doctrine, and probably also a reconsideration of the plans now contemplated for military support for western Europe.

The Effect on American Prestige

AMERICA'S standing with the rest of the world has suffered terrible damage from this inept diplomatic performance. To the common people everywhere, hungry for peace, the U.S. is left looking like a nation that, after talking piously about peace, suddenly discovers, when its potential opponent says it is ready to negotiate an understanding, that it isn't interested in securing an understanding. To the governments of friendly nations, such as Britain and France, the U.S. is disclosed as starting to negotiate on matters of vital importance to them without letting them know anything about it. And all the nations that watched in amazement the diplomatic flip-flop performed by the U.S. after it had strong-armed the U.N. Assembly into voting for Palestine partition, now see another equally astonishing exhibition of "duck and run." How can these other nations, with this episode piled on top of the Palestine reversal, have any confidence that, in its international dealings, the present administration (1) knows what it is trying to say, (2) can express its meaning so it will be clear to others, or (3) if its meaning is clear, means what it says?

The Palestine Tragedy (Continued)

BRITAIN has surrendered its Palestine mandate. An independent Zionist state of Israel has been proclaimed. Instant recognition was given the new nation by the U.S.A. The United Nations thereupon adjourned its special session, after approving a Quaker mayor for as much of Jerusalem as can be neutralized and voting to send a conciliator who will be on hand if, as and when anyone in Palestine shows any interest in being conciliated. Arabs left Lake Success denouncing the U.S. for having tricked the Assembly into a useless session only designed to kill time until May 15 arrived, when the Zionist state could be recognized and the way thus opened for it to arm itself with American munitions. As the Assembly broke up in bitterness, Egyptian, Syrian, Lebanese and Transjordan forces invaded from the south, north and east. What next? A bloody war, which will probably favor the Zionists in its opening stages. But if the Arabs can keep from fighting among themselves (a big "if") a slow growth of Arab power. Before long, a Russian demand on the U.N. Security Council for the right to intervene to "restore order." After that, who can foresee where this madness will lead? But the White House will be mainly interested, not in what happens to the thousands who will be slaughtered in Palestine, but whether the foxy move to be the first to recognize the Zionist state has recaptured the New York Jewish vote which (on the evidence of Wallace's victory in the Bronx congressional election) the flip-flop on partition lost.

EDITORIAL

Stassen at the Crossroads

STASSEN did fairly well in the Ohio primaries. But not as well as he had hoped or many had expected. Nine out of 23 delegates in contested districts wasn't so bad, especially when the traditional power of the Ohio Republican machine, which was working for Senator Taft, is taken into account. The Stassen campaign has not been halted by the Ohio outcome. It has, however, slowed down. The old-line politicians have regained confidence that it will be easy to "stop Stassen" at the Philadelphia convention. And the Stassen campaign backers, for all their public optimism, are probably beginning to look over their shoulders for approaching emissaries from rival camps bearing vice-presidential offers.

Mr. Stassen must be asking himself some searching questions since the Ohio returns came in. The outlook there was so promising, right up until a week before the voting. Then what happened? Why did the tide of public interest so palpably turn in the closing phases of the campaign? Why did the momentum of the popular movement for the Minnesotan disappear so swiftly and lamentably? More important, can the momentum of the Wisconsin and Nebraska victories be regained before the nominating convention opens? We don't know how Mr. Stassen is answering such questions to himself, but if we had his ear we would like to say to him something like this:

The factor which built you up in the public eye, which produced the surprising victories in Wisconsin and Nebraska and started a genuine mass movement in your direction, was the hunger of the American people for a progressive candidate. Moreover, they no longer expect much of the candidates who have been candidating for years. New faces, new minds, a liberal outlook and a sense of going somewhere out of this present mess—that is what the great bulk of the American public is looking for. That is why the groundswell started in your direction. You looked the part. You are young, friendly, frank, courageous. Your friends said you had made a good governor; they were particularly enthusiastic about your dealing with vexing questions of labor relationships. Your "one world" views, your service at San Francisco and subsequently in behalf of the U.N., your interest in the idea of a world government, your evident desire to understand the world situation, as shown by your global trip and your direct approach to Stalin—these things didn't hurt you; they helped.

Something like the enthusiasm which Wendell Willkie aroused began to distinguish your campaign from that of the other aspirants. Students and young people—the "under 35's"—began to form your most active supporters. Then the professional people. Then some labor people. (You still showed most strength in industrial cities like Youngstown, Akron, Toledo and Dayton in Ohio.) Finally, it began to look as though a rush of independent voters would start in your direction. You were the *liberal* candidate. What stopped the rush? The fact that, for whatever reason, all these kinds of people suddenly began to ask what showed that you are any more of a liberal than some of your rivals.

Voters began to demand, What is this Stassen liberalism? They found it hard to answer. Your book, *Here I Stand*, with its magnificent Lutheran title, didn't help much, although they bought a lot of copies to see what it disclosed. The magazine articles that supported your candidacy were not very clear at this vital point. Your speeches did not offer any great amount of illumination. Indeed, your speeches began to cause disquiet. You were against aid to any nation that resorted to socialistic measures. You were against any tax that would deprive the wealthy of more than half their income. You were in favor of outlawing the Communist party—a measure, as Governor Dewey has truthfully said, that would simply drive the American Communists into a conpiratorial underground. Some began to recall your sharp condemnation of the Baptists for criticizing the Supreme Court decision in the New Jersey bus case. Chancellor Hutchins' wisecrack about candidates who are trying to gain the presidency by claiming they can scare the Russians more than their rivals seemed to apply to you as much as to any of the others.

This process of questioning the content of your liberalism got out into the open in the Ohio campaign. At the start, it looked like another Wisconsin and Nebraska runaway. When Taft spoke to a few dozens, you spoke to thousands. Newspaper correspondents wrote that you might win every delegate for whom you were contesting. But Taft's relentless pounding away at that question, What *is* this Stassen liberalism? finally began to register. On the day before the voting a friendly correspondent who had been with you throughout the campaign wired his Chicago newspaper: "When all the oratory is sifted down, the most startling philosophical difference between the two is their respective attitudes toward the soybean. Stassen believes it should be used only for auto fenders and such things. Taft is willing to let people make margarine with it." Your liberal claim flattened out right there.

Can the earlier momentum of your campaign be revived? You have a month left in which to show that you are a genuine progressive—show it so that the great body of the American people will see your progressivism, understand it and believe in it. You are still the most attractive personality bidding for the Republican nomination. But more than an attractive personality is required. The people are in no mood to vote for superficial attractiveness. If you still hope to arouse their support to a pitch where it will

overcome the opposition to your candidacy of the party bosses and wheelhorses, you have just one chance. Prove to them that your liberalism is something more than a self-applied label. Come forward with a program, domestic and foreign, that is something better than "the mixture as before." To do it, you must work fast.

Must This Union Fail?

THE NEW YORK headquarters of the Congregational Christian Churches has announced that the current plebiscite in that denomination is running against ratification of union with the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Voting will continue until June 1, but returns from 1,800 churches and 105,000 individual members are already in, and these do not show the 75 per cent approval which the denomination's commission on union set as the requirement for ratification. Approximately 63 per cent of the churches and 62 per cent of the members voting have favored union, and this proportion is not expected to be much altered in the final tabulations.

Meanwhile, the Evangelical and Reformed Church, although its commission called for only a two-thirds vote for ratification, is approving the proposed merger by overwhelming majorities. Some synods are casting unanimous votes for union; so far not one synod has voted against it. Whether Congregational coolness may affect the later voting in the E. and R. synods remains to be seen, but leaders of that denomination, though obviously disturbed at having encountered a rebuff they were not expecting, believe that the heavy vote of approval will continue to the end. If this union is killed, it will be the Congregational Christian Churches that have killed it. But is the union killed?

No, it is a misunderstanding of the situation to regard the union proposal as dead at this point. It has, to be sure, suffered a serious setback. The union will not be ratified this year. But it has not been permanently defeated—at least, not yet. And we believe that throughout Congregationalism there is so pervasive a demand for Christian unity—such as impelled this body to take the lead in inviting all American Protestant denominations to confer on the attainment of a general union—that when the peril to this pending merger is realized, forces will rally to keep the proposal alive and ultimately to secure its adoption. The Congregational Christian invitation to all the churches to meet to negotiate for an inclusive union would look pretty bedraggled if this negotiation with only one church ended in repudiation.

I.

What is the actual situation as regards this union in the Congregational Christian fellowship? First, the voting is not complete. Many of the smaller churches have not yet been heard from. It was these churches which made their influence felt at the Grinnell session of the denominational General Council two years ago and forced the union proposal before the whole church for action. Conceivably, these smaller churches might at the last moment change the outcome of the plebiscite. Or they might at least lift the proportion of the vote in favor of the merger.

Second, the voting is only advisory. This is not generally understood, even by Congregationalists. But it is the General Council, which meets in Oberlin, Ohio, on June 17, that has the final word. The plebiscite is designed to show the General Council what local congregations, associations and state conferences think on this matter, but it can do no more than that. Moreover, the 75 per cent provision is simply an advisory proposal, made by the commission on union, for the guidance of the General Council. It has never been accepted or made mandatory by the council. The commission on union merely advised that if the plebiscite showed a 75 per cent favorable majority in all the four voting categories—conferences, associations, churches and members—this would indicate such overwhelming approval that the General Council should declare the union in effect at once. The commission on union made no suggestion as to what the General Council should do if the vote failed to reach the 75 per cent mark.

Third, the General Council is free to make its own decision as to what to do. The moral influence of the plebiscite results will of course be very great. But that is not the only factor in the situation. Is the expressed desire of at least 63 per cent—and by the time the Oberlin meeting opens possibly more—of the churches to be ignored? Is no attention to be paid to the charge, widely made, that much of the opposition to the union has been based on a misinterpretation of what is proposed and what involved, and that congregations and individuals have consequently in many instances voted in ignorance or delusion?

Fourth, there are at least three sets of interests which the Oberlin General Council should try to safeguard. There is the genuine devotion of the Congregational Christian fellowship to the cause of Christian union. There is the evident desire of a very large part of that fellowship for this particular union. And there is the right of the minority, always vital in any democratic organization, to have its views made known and its legitimate objection met, without in so doing setting up an actual minority rule over the majority.

II.

It may turn out that the Oberlin gathering will face the greatest test of its denominational statesmanship and Christian leadership in dealing with this third requirement. Many who have voted against the pending merger with the Evangelical and Reformed Church have declared that they are not opposed to union, but only to the proposed terms of union. And some of the sections of the Basis of Union submitted by the commissions of the two denominations which have caused the most heated debate are, it seems to us, ambiguous. Certainly if ambiguities exist they should be cleared up. And if a few simple amendments to the Basis of Union would meet the objections of other

dissidents, these likewise should be brought forward.

The difficulty which Oberlin will encounter at this point is obvious. The Evangelical and Reformed Church will have voted for the Basis of Union as now proposed, and changes in the wording of that document would probably require that the whole process of negotiation and ratification in the E. and R. Church be repeated. There is, however, a possible approach to this difficulty which we trust the Congregational leaders favoring union will not overlook. One of the charges made by some of the union's opponents has been that no constitution for the united church had been drafted or submitted, and that the churches have therefore been asked to buy a pig in a poke. Actually, this is not so, for the Basis of Union, when put into the usual documentary form, was to become the constitution. But technically, the charge stands. There has been no constitution presented for adoption.

III.

Very well, then, why may not the Oberlin General Council authorize the proper bodies to proceed with the drafting of a constitution, and set the terms under which this constitution may be considered and either adopted or rejected? This would be an official action by the denominational body having authority, and the only body having authority, to take such action. It would concern itself with a document which under any circumstances would have to be submitted to the Evangelical and Reformed Church before that denomination could conclude its action in favor of union. It would provide a period for more careful consideration of the union proposal, and should produce a more complete participation by churches and members in the voting. And it would make it possible, in drawing up the new constitutional document, to take into account the points that have been raised against the Basis of Union, and so far as these are legitimate objections, to remedy them.

No great harm will be done if the Congregational Christian Churches postpone a decision on this proposed union for another two years. Deferment of the decision would show ministers and members that the allegation, frequently made in letters we have received from opponents of the union, that the "top brass" of the denomination is determined to force it through regardless of consequences, is false. Large bodies move slowly, and another two or four years is not too long to wait for virtual unanimity. But if the General Council allows the issue to be pushed to final action and defeat at Oberlin, festering wounds will be left inside the Congregational fellowship, a great church will appear in an ambiguous and deceptive light in the eyes of its fellow churches, and the cause of Christian reunion will be tragically set back, not only in this communion but for all Protestantism. This need not happen. This union need not fail. If there is sufficient wisdom and brotherly concern for the total welfare of the Kingdom of God shown at Oberlin, the General Council has it within its power to insure that it does not fail.

Calling Upon Poets

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Let me advise you—nay, warn you—never to call upon a poet without appointment. "Quintus," I hear you murmur, "Quintus, unfold." Gladly. But first, sir, I would recall in passing the person from Porlock. You remember how that entirely worthy man called upon Coleridge as he was setting down the immortal poem which had come to him in visions of the night—the lines which begin,

> In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
> A stately pleasure dome decree.

The visitor broke the spell and it was never recaptured. The poem, like the "Unfinished Symphony," will remain unfinished. Attempts have been made to finish Schubert's symphony, but I have never heard of any poet who took up the magic strain where Coleridge left it:

> For he on honey-dew hath fed,
> And drunk the milk of Paradise.

All I wish to do here is to warn you, sir, not to call upon any Coleridge you may know about some little piece of business or for a friendly chat when he is writing down a new "Kubla Khan." Or for the matter of that, if you see your friend the poet rushing across a stormy heath with his mane flying in the breze, you must not stop him or interrupt the working of that mighty mind which is giving

> to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name.

I detect what you are saying: "In what era of the world are you living, Quintus? Do poets today wear their hair so long that it waves in the breeze?" I answer (with some misgivings): I doubt not that the old ways will return and the Tennysons and Longfellows of tomorrow will once more bear these or other marks of the *vates*. But in any case, whether they look the part or are indistinguishable from other gentlemen of their period—in any case don't interrupt them.

The real poet is a man who in the great (and perhaps rare) moments when he *is* a poet does not go until he is sent. By whom? That is a question to which many answers are given. I made up my mind about it a thousand years ago.

The poet is either a man who, by calling up all that is within him and with no prompting from any unseen power, bodies forth the shapes of things unknown; or he is a man who prays, and not in vain, that the Divine Lord may inspire him. The truth is declared in the words of Pooh, the well known bear in *The House at Pooh Corner*. "Poems and Hums," said that humble bard, "are not things that you get, they are things that get you." But you can go where they are found.

The point is clear if behind and within all that immense intellectual toil and agony through which the poet must pass is an hour of visitation from God. Then neglect of the poet, or contempt for his work in a busy world like this, is not a pardonable error, but a wrong done to the spirit of man. You remember

(*Continued on page* 506)

Can We Avoid Catastrophe?

By Reinhold Niebuhr

PERHAPS nothing could be more foolish than to speculate about future perils and promises in our historical situation. Anything can happen in a world which requires a political order as global as the vast interdependence of nations which a technical society has created, but seems unable to achieve it. The world is "one" in terms of the mutual dependence of all nations; but it is divided into two in its political organization, though it has a United Nations organization which preserves a minimal bridge between the two worlds. The tension and mutual fear between these two worlds is still growing. Amid such tension either side could touch off a worldwide conflict even though neither side desires war. Nothing can be guaranteed.

On the other hand I think it is an error to declare that if the world does not achieve some kind of political unity it is bound to destroy itself in a conflict made more terrible because man has achieved the level of atomic destructiveness in elaborating weapons of war. History is never as logical as the forms into which we try to press its tortuous course. Furthermore, if we declare that the alternatives are "one world or none" the only valid conclusion to be drawn is despair. For one world is impossible. It follows therefore that we are fated to be destroyed.

Two Centers of Power—

It is quite easy to state why it is not possible to achieve one world at the present time. The world is divided between two great centers of power under the leadership of Russia and the United States. A deep chasm of fear and mistrust runs between them. In this situation Russia is not willing to submit to constitutional forms, which might expose her to the peril of being outvoted by a majority of the nations. She clings desperately to the veto in the Security Council and declares that she will leave the United Nations if this veto right is abrogated. Russian insistence on this point has created a certain amount of self-righteousness among the rest of the nations because it has obviated the necessity of inquiring whether any of the other great powers would really be willing to abrogate the veto. They might not be willing; but they are not forced to face the issue because of the rigor of the Russian negative.

In any event the proponents of "one world" are put in the sorry and paradoxical position of advocating, in the name of one world, a more explicit organization of "two" worlds than we now have. They insist that if Russia refuses to accept the principles of world government we ought to organize all the nations that do accept the principle. This would mean in effect to organize an anti-Russian alliance and to increase the fever of anxiety and fear between the two worlds. The moral is clear. Constitutional instruments, however perfect, do not create community, whether on the family, the national or the international level. Laws and constitutions, courts and legislative procedures can perfect community, once it is there. But they cannot create it out of whole cloth. Community must be created by various organic and historic forces of social cohesion, including at least a minimal degree of mutual trust. This trust is lacking in the present situation.

—and Two Mistaken Ideologies

The mutual trust might have been lacking in any event, as the exigencies of history had created two centers of power rather than one. It so happens however that these two centers of power embody two ideologies or social philosophies which have been fighting for supremacy in modern technical society. According to the one, the creed of classical liberalism, justice is established in a society if we interfere as little as possible with economic life. According to the alternative creed, Marxism, social injustice and conflict arose with the institution of private property and will be overcome if we can eliminate that institution. These two creeds are almost equally mistaken.

From the Christian viewpoint the creed of classical liberalism has little to stand on. For it assumes that justice and community follow automatically from the freedom which allows each individual and social force free play. This assumption takes no account of the selfish use to which individuals and groups may put their freedom, nor of the tremendous disproportions of power in an industrial society which contrasts to that balance of all social forces in which the nineteenth century believed. The Marxist creed is in many respects more realistic. But it is almost as wrong to declare that the community is always involved in class conflict as to imagine that it would be involved in no conflict at all if only everyone were allowed to do what he would.

Marxism from the Christian Standpoint

However, the most serious mistake of Marxism from the Christian standpoint is that it derives all social evil from a social institution. The institution of property is certainly not the source of all social virtue, as classical liberalism (and its modern corruption called Republicanism) believes. But neither is it the sole cause of all social evil. Property may be both an instrument of sin and (in moderate amounts) a protection against the sin of others. But the institution does not explain the inclination of men to take advantage of their fellow men. A Marxism which assumes that an institution lies at the root of all human evil was bound to become involved in the utopian pretension that a society which had abrogated private property was, by definition, a virtuous society, free

of imperial lusts and all unrighteousness. The self-righteous fury of Russian communism springs from this pretention, even as the vexatious tyranny of modern Russia springs from the illusion that you do not have to be concerned about the inordinate power of a provisional dictatorship, since it is only provisional and will wither away once all capitalism is destroyed.

It is rather sad that mankind should face the tyranny and the fury of a political system based upon such illusions so shortly after having spent its blood and treasure in overcoming a dictatorship based upon explicitly cynical principles. It is almost as sad that the only nation strong enough to set its power against the worldwide ambitions of the Russian oligarchy should be our own. For our political life is largely informed by the discredited principles of classical liberalism and given to the illusion that community and justice are the fruits of an unmanaged economy. Meanwhile we prove by our actual experience that an unmanaged economy cannot have full employment without running into inflation. A completely unmanaged economy must be slightly sick with unemployment. If it is wholly healthy it heads for destruction.

It is also sad that the whole continent of Europe, including Britain—which has learned from bitter experience that the problem of maintaining freedom and order in any community, and particularly in a technical one, is more complex than either of these creeds assumes—should have so little economic and political power, and therefore lack the liberty of putting its more mature political convictions into practice. These are sad aspects of our international situation. The unsolved problems of justice on the national level thus aggravate the confusion of our civilization on the international level.

No Easy Way

Under such circumstances there is obviously no simple course which would lead us from insecurity to peace and stability. Insofar as the Russian power is informed by an ideology which dogmatically assumes an irreconcilable conflict between capitalism and communism, and which seeks to protect itself against this eventuality by an ever wider belt of influence in both Europe and Asia, we must be prepared to counter the threat of this expansionism. It is one of the ironic aspects of the situation that strategies of defense seem to be, and in a sense are, strategies of expansion from the opposite viewpoint. Insofar as military power is used for this expansion we must be prepared to counter it with military defense.

However, Russia lacks the military and strategic power to contemplate a war. It seeks therefore to penetrate into continental Europe through ideological and political pressure. The situation in Italy and France illustrates this political strategy perfectly. Insofar as Russia's ideological weapon represents her primary form of power it must be countered ideologically. It is at this point that we are particularly weak. For the European continent has arrived at the mature conviction that it wants neither the anarchy of classical liberalism to which we are devoted nor the corruption of Marxism which is embodied in the Soviet state. It is seeking to arrive at forms of freedom and order in which property is dealt with pragmatically. It seeks to socialize the large-scale units of property but tries on the whole to maintain a mixed economy, because it has learned that a consistent socialization of all property produces the peril of tyranny by giving one political oligarchy every form of power.

America's Responsibility

Until the elaboration of the Marshall plan, Europe was fond of the thesis that American capitalism and Russian communism were equidistant from its own ideals. The Marshall plan has changed the picture somewhat. At its best, it offers Europe aid toward its economic convalescence without trying to remold its economic life in the image of ours. Thus Europe has learned that our devotion to freedom is not completely bogus and is therefore less of a peril than Russia's devotion to a collectivist society. Europe has become our ally because we have proved that we are willing to be its ally on less difficult terms than it had feared.

These developments offer a real hope for peace. If carried out without misadventure they promise a moderately healthy Europe, the containment of the Russian power within its present bounds, and the consequent gradual stabilization of the world. There can be misadventures of course. An economic depression in our own country, about which the Russians constantly speculate, could upset all calculations. And since there are no buffer states between American and Russian power and the two centers of power are therefore immediately contiguous, incidents could arise which would plunge the world into war without explicit purpose on either side. Furthermore, it is not certain that our own country can preserve the patient sense of continuing responsibility which the present program requires. We will have to bear heavy burdens for at least a decade to come. Since the isolationist tendencies in our life are not completely overcome it is not certain that we may not succumb to them again.

The Insecurity Within

It is also not certain whether we have the political maturity to preserve an attitude of both patience and firmness. This attitude is constantly threatened by a tendency toward hysteria, which shatters Europe's confidence in us. I have found in recent visits to the Continent that Europeans are particularly perplexed by this tendency toward hysteria. They do not understand why a nation so powerful should be so unsure of itself, so afraid that someone is taking advantage of it and so apprehensive lest the Russians should "outsmart" it!

This inner insecurity is probably a vestigial remnant of our political adolescence. We have been vaulted into our position of precarious eminence in the world community with frightening rapidity and have had little opportunity to become accustomed to our power

and its attendant responsibilities. Meanwhile the destruction of democracy in Czechoslovakia and the threat of Russian ideological penetration on our side of the iron curtain has increased our fear of Russia. In our present mood we are constantly tempted to counter ideological and political pressure by military threats. Insofar as we face military peril we must meet it with military defense. But insofar as the march of communism into western Europe is accomplished political penetration rather than by military power we must counter it by political and moral measures.

Freedom and Community

One has the uneasy feeling that our own nation inclines more and more to trust in its superior military power because it has a dark and subconscious awareness of the weakness of its moral and political program. The impoverished peoples of Europe and Asia, living in their broken communities, do not want and cannot afford tyranny as a solution for their problem. But a concept of democracy which makes freedom an absolute value at the expense of community and justice is also irrelevant to their situation. It becomes dangerous as well as irrelevant when it is used by the privileged classes of Europe as ascreen for the preservation of their privileges.

The recent Italian elections prove that Catholic conservatism is no more adequate than American liberalism as a socio-moral force with which to counter communism. The Christian Democratic party of Italy could have defeated communism unequivocally, rather than equivocally, if it had presented the poor agrarians with a genuine land reform program. The absentee Italian landlords who live in Rome, their tables luxuriously provisioned by the black market, while the peasants live in the direst poverty, are pathetic champions of "democracy." To have the church use religious threats to hide the moral poverty of its politics belongs to the deepest tragedies of our age.

The sense of the moral ambiguity of our own cause drives some good but confused men on our side to espouse the political program of Mr. Wallace. Such a course makes confusion worse confounded. For the moral inadequacy of our cause does not make Russian tyranny one whit better; nor does it prove that if only we were less resolute Stalin's heart would be softened and the Russian pressure across Europe and Asia would cease.

No Ineluctable Fate

There is still a possibility that Russian truculence and intransigence will be diminished if the Marshall plan begins to take effect and the economic and political convalescence of Europe becomes a reality. But it is impossible to predict what the Russians may not attempt in the coming months by way of sabotage and political strikes in order to wreck the possibilities of such convalescence.

We live, in short, in a world in which there is no clear road to security or peace. But also there is no ineluctable fate driving us to disaster. We (whether "we" means America or the whole of Western culture) are not really good enough to champion the cause which must be championed. On the other hand we did finally achieve a more genuine sense of responsibility in the provisions of the European Recovery Program than might have been expected. We are involved in vast historical destinies which are not easily bent to our will, particularly when our wills lack the required virtue. But we are never in a situation in which fateful decisions are not necessary.

It should be added that it can hardly be the function of the Christian faith merely to present ideal and irrelevant answers to the vexatious problems of our day. The secular world is quite able to offer "ideal" solutions for our problems. It can also become very bewildered when ideal solutions contradictory to each other aggravate the problem. It is really only from the standpoint of the Christian faith that the tragedy of these contradictory ideals can be understood.

History—A Drama of Wills

From the standpoint of that faith we know, or ought to know, that our actions cannot be justified merely by the promise of success in some tomorrow. "Sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof." We must also learn that history is neither as determined by a fate beyond our control nor as completely under the control of our will as we had thought. Human history is a vast drama in which human will is operative but in which human wills are also in conflict. Unless the whole pattern stands under a divine providence it does not make sense. There is no possibility of making sense out of it by some simple decision of our own.

This faith in divine providence is not, as our secularist critics imagine, an escape from our responsibilities. It represents the only possibility of performing our duty without the alternate distractions of illusion and despair. We cannot, from the standpoint of our faith, either promise a bright tomorrow or threaten mankind with the possibility of absolute disaster. History is today, as it has always been, filled with hours of decision in which we can relate ourselves to its promises or contribute to its disasters. It is therefore more important to seek to do our duty in watchfulness and soberness than to speculate overmuch about the perils which lie before us.

QUINTUS QUIZ

(*Continued from page* 503)

Hassan. The Caliph says: "Ah, if there shall ever arise a nation whose people have forgotten poetry or whose poets have forgotten the people, though they send their ships round Tappobane and their armies across the hills of Hindustan, though their city be greater than Babylon of old, though they mine a league into earth or mount to the stars on wings—what of them?" And Hassan answers: "They will be a dark patch upon the world."

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

The World Council Comes to Birth

By Samuel McCrea Cavert

WHEN the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches convenes in Amsterdam on August 22 of this year, it will not be just another international conference. It will be something without parallel in Christian history. It will mark the inauguration of continuous processes of fellowship and cooperation among bodies hitherto separated. For the first time more than 130 churches, representing all the major Christian traditions except the Roman Catholic, will have an official and permanent instrument for cooperative witness and action on a worldwide scale.

The full import of the Amsterdam Assembly cannot yet be appraised, but it is entirely possible that it will signalize a new era in the life of the church. Future historians may record that something happened in 1948 as creative as the Reformation. Perhaps it may even be said that as the Reformation meant a recovery of individuality in the church, so the World Council means a recovery of community. In any case Amsterdam should afford significant evidence that in the church liberty and unity are not necessarily opposed to each other but may be truly complementary—"one and inseparable."

The preparations for the Amsterdam Assembly are now well under way. At Geneva, Switzerland, last January, the committee on arrangements, the study department commission and the administrative committee met for a week of intensive planning. As a result of these sessions it is now possible to forecast the character of the meeting at Amsterdam.

What Will Happen at Amsterdam

The program of the Assembly will include both study and work, and both will be conducted in an atmosphere of worship. The periods of daily worship will aim to reflect the different historic patterns in which Christian devotion has expressed itself. At the same time they will reveal the unity of spirit that lies within the diversity of forms. The periods of study will deal with four aspects of one central theme, "Man's Disorder and God's Design." They will draw on the best thought of scholars of the various branches of Christendom and seek to discover what consensus can be achieved. Since these important phases of the Amsterdam meeting are being treated in other articles in this series, I shall confine myself to what has been referred to as the "work" of the Assembly; that is, the solving of the difficult problems connected with the future life of the World Council as a new kind of ecumenical organization.

At Amsterdam all those organizational problems will come to a sharp focus. Until Amsterdam they can be treated in a tentative manner or postponed for further study, the council still being "in process of formation" and its structure being of a merely interim character. At Amsterdam, however, the provisional committee, which has guided the emerging council for the past ten years, will cease to exist. The control of the council will then officially pass into the hands of the delegated representatives of the member churches. This means that weighty decisions about the constitutional structure of the council and its relations to the churches must be made.

Foundations Tested

The foundations, of course, are already strongly laid. They have been tested, too, by ten years of strain, including the terrible tensions of world war. At Utrecht in 1938 the constitution of the World Council was drafted, and during the decade in which it has been under scrutiny no radical change in the general plan has been put forward. The council, it is clear, is to be a simple organ of cooperation whose policies are to be determined by the responsible representatives of the constituent churches. The fear that it might be some sort of superchurch or "Protestant Vatican" has been voiced only by people who have not taken the trouble to become informed about either the constitutional basis of the council or the development of its life during the embryonic years. As the provisional committee declared in a statement at its Buck Hill Falls meeting in April 1947, the council is an instrument through which the churches "may bear witness together to their common faith and cooperate in matters requiring united action." It cannot "control or legislate for these bodies." It "disavows any thought of becoming a single unified church structure dominated by a centralized administrative authority."

But while the groundwork of the Utrecht constitution has not been called into question, several important amendments growing out of a decade of experience and discussion have been proposed. Due notice of these amendments has been transmitted to the churches, and they will accordingly require consideration and action at Amsterdam. Some of them are of a kind which vitally affect the functioning of the council. They must not be treated casually as "mere matters of organization." If it is worth while to organize a World Council at all, it is worth while to make it the best possible instrument for the attainment of the desired objectives.

Structure of the Council

The most far-reaching change which is proposed concerns the basis of representation. In the provisional constitution as drafted at Utrecht in 1938, the 450 seats in the Assembly are distributed on a geographical basis. Ninety, for example, go to North America, to be allocated to the member churches in

this area in such a way as they may themselves determine. In practice this arrangement works unsatisfactorily, since in several of the areas there is no interdenominational organization, or even conference, through which the specific allocations can be made. Moreover, the principle of geographical representation has been challenged. As early as the Utrecht meeting it was suggested as an alternative that the seats be distributed among the several worldwide confessional families such as the Lutheran World Federation and the Baptist World Alliance, leaving it to them to make more detailed allocations to their national members. But this, again, could hardly prove satisfactory since most of the worldwide confessional bodies are very slight structures designed only for consultation, and some of the churches do not even belong to such bodies.

A simpler procedure than either of these is therefore now recommended by the provisional committee. It proposes an amendment which, if adopted, will provide for the allocation of seats in the Assembly directly to the member churches, "due regard being given to such factors as numerical size, adequate confessional representation and adequate geographical distribution." The allocation will be made by the central committee, which is the governing body between meetings of the Assembly. This central committee, which will meet at least once a year, consists of not more than ninety members. Under the new plan, it will be appointed by the Assembly, again with due regard to such factors as the numerical size of the churches, adequate confessional representation and adequate geographical distribution.

For More Flexibility

One of the main advantages of the new procedure is its flexibility. Instead of designating rigid quotas in the constitution, whether on a geographical or a confessional basis, it permits a restudy of the distribution of seats from time to time as changing circumstances may make advisable. Another merit of the proposed amendment is that it emphasizes the direct relation of each member church to the Assembly without any intervening machinery.

A more incidental amendment proposed by the provisional committee would remove the limit of 450 upon the membership of the Assembly and permit its size to be modified from time to time in the light of experience. At Utrecht it was not anticipated that there would be as many as 130 member churches, which is now the case, and it now appears probable that an Assembly of only 450 representatives will be too small for so great a constituency. The provision for a somewhat larger number of representatives will be likely to result also in the appointment of more lay members, which, it is agreed, is urgently desirable.

Another minor change, likewise in the interest of flexibility, removes the restriction of five years as the period during which members of the Assembly shall serve. This restriction had been made at Utrecht on the assumption that the Asembly would meet at five-year intervals. This time schedule is still held as a general guide, but it is realized that the interval may sometimes prove to be longer or shorter than five years. It is therefore proposed that the term of service of members "shall begin within the year before the Asembly meets, and they shall serve until their successors are appointed."

In addition to these amendments concerning structure, there is one that registers a fresh emphasis on function. This is the proposal to add to the Utrecht definition of objectives the following: "to support the churches in their task of evangelization." In general, this reflects the growing conviction that since the primary task of every church is evangelistic, the World Council ought to devote much of its effort to stimulating the spirit of evangelism. More specifically, the explicit reference to evangelistic outreach is an expression of the World Council's desire to collaborate fully with the International Missionary Council in furthering the proclamation of the Christian gospel to all men everywhere and in interpreting its meaning for the whole of man's life, personal and social.

The Permanent Departments

It now seems probable that if this amendment is adopted, a department of evangelism will be created. If so, the five major departments of work of the World Council, as it settles down to its permanent service after the provisional period, are likely to be as follows: (1) a study department continuing the cooperation of Christian thinkers in all lands in exploring great issues confronting all the churches today; (2) a youth department, seeking to develop the vision of the ecumenical church in each new generation as illustrated by the World Conference of Christian Youth at Oslo in 1947; (3) a department of reconstruction and interchurch aid, devoted to assisting churches in special need and helping refugees and displaced persons; (4) a faith and order department, continuing the process of study and conference exemplified at Lausanne in 1927 and at Edinburgh in 1937; (5) a department of evangelism, as indicated above.

There will probably be three other strategic enterprises which, though not described as "departments," may be expected to have equivalent status. They are likely to be: (1) the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs established jointly by the World Council and the International Missionary Council; (2) the Ecumenical Institute, with its center at Bossey on Lake Geneva, for the training of laymen and laywomen in Christian witness; and (3) the Ecumenical Press Service and the proposed new ecumenical journal.

Relationships with Other Agencies

An amendment of different character intends to relate the World Council in some effective way to other ecumenical organizations. The practical necessity for maintaining especially close contacts with the International Missionary Council is obvious, for it involves the whole question of the younger churches

and their place in the ecumenical movement. The constitutional difficulties, however, are serious. The greatest problem arises from the basic difference in structure of the two organizations. The component units of the World Council are individual churches regardless of their national locale, while those of the International Missionary Council are not individual churches but national groupings of churches and of missionary organizations. The National Christian Council of China, for example, is an organic part of the International Missionary Council but has no connection of any kind with the World Council. If the World Council is to cooperate significantly with the International Missionary Council, must it not have some sort of working relations with the National Christian Council of China and similar councils elsewhere? Further, can the World Council expect to have effective contacts even with its own member churches in China without the mediating assistance of the National Christian Council of that country?

There seems to be no simple and quick solution of this organizational puzzle. No one urges that the World Council become anything else than a council of *churches* or that the International Missionary Council become anything else than a council of *councils*. One step, however, is possible now. It is put forward in an amendment which proposes that "such constituent bodies of the International Missionary Council and such nationwide councils of churches as may be designated by the central committee" may be invited to send representatives to the sessions of the Assembly and of the central committee "in a consultative capacity." This at least insures that the World Council and the national Christian councils which have grown up in the lands of the younger churches (and also the nationwide councils in the lands of the older churches) will keep in friendly touch with each other and be mutually helpful instead of working at cross purposes or regarding each other as rivals. The same amendment also authorizes consultative representation for the worldwide confessional organizations and for other ecumenical organizations, such as the World Council of Christian Education and the World Student Christian Federation.

Membership in the Council

One other amendment which calls for attention has to do with eligibility for membership in the council. The original constitution, as framed ten years ago, made no reference to any requirement except that which is implied in the definition of the council as "a fellowship of churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior." It has now become entirely clear that certain conditions of membership must be laid down. Otherwise, any new handful of people calling themselves a church could claim the right to enter the council on the same basis as one of the great historic communions.

It is therefore proposed that an amendment shall be adopted declaring that those churches shall be eligible which "express their agreement with the basis upon which the council is founded and satisfy such criteria as the Assembly or the central committee may prescribe." These criteria are not to be a part of the constitution, since they will doubtless need to be modified in the light of experience, but will be embodied in the bylaws which are to be submitted to the Assembly for its approval. The criteria set forth in these bylaws require that in order to be qualified for membership a church must be autonomous, as distinguished from a province or a mission of another church, must have given evidence of the stability of its life and organization over a period of years, and must be of sufficient size to be significant in its own part of the world. A two-thirds vote of the Assembly—or, under certain conditions, of the central committee—shall determine whether any church applying for membership meets the necessary qualifications.

Doctrinal Basis

A final word needs to be said about the possible discussion of the doctrinal basis of the council at Amsterdam. The issue may be raised by an action of the General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends (Hicksite) in 1940. It voted to join the council on condition that the basis of membership be broadened beyond what is involved in the clause which describes the council as a fellowship of churches "which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Savior." This Quaker group proposes the addition of the following clause: "and of religious organizations which, never having required of their members the acceptance of any formula of belief, hold that the basis of fellowship is an inward experience and that the essentials of unity are the love of God and the love of man conceived and practiced in the spirit of Christ." Whether a church which does not itself accept the present basis of membership is entitled to propose such an amendment as this is not quite clear. Perhaps the Assembly will have to make a ruling on this point when it meets.

In the discussion of the basis it is important to distinguish between its essential import and the particular form of words in which that import is now expressed. Within the provisional committee of the council the interpretation which Archbishop Temple put upon the basis is unanimously accepted. The reference to Jesus Christ as "God and Savior," he said, is an affirmation of faith in the incarnation and the atonement. Such an affirmation, in the judgment of the provisional committee, the constitution should not fail to make. Whether it can be better made by some other phraseology than that which it now used is, of course, open to question.

The present provisional committee is, as its name implies, only a provisional committee. It therefore has no authority whatever except to carry on the work of the council on an interim basis until the Assembly, as the official body of delegates named by the churches, comes into being. As soon as the Assembly convenes at Amsterdam, it will assume full responsibility.

Nowhere to Go

By Renwick C. Kennedy

A COLD spring rain drenched the street outside, but it was warm and snug in Allen's General Merchandise Store. There was no business. Mr. Allen and his three loafers sat close to the big iron stove and talked about the plight of the south. A 40-watt bulb high in the ceiling shed a dim light over piles of hardware and farm gear on one side of the store and shelves of groceries on the other. At the front there were shoes and dry goods. The air in the old store was rich with many odors—tobacco, salt meat, fish brine, molasses, kerosene oil, mildewed cloth, rats, empty pop bottles, and unknown, residual odors from the distant past. The total blend was not unpleasant. To older people it had a nostalgic quality. There are not many stores left like Allen's.

Breckenridge Allen was like his store. Both belonged to the preceding generation, but both were pleasant and interesting. He was a big man, tall and stout and bald-headed, with a red face, great red hands, little china-blue eyes and a genial and booming voice. People liked Mr. Allen. He was a good kind man. He should have died in 1914. His ideas belonged to the 1900-14 period. He didn't die. In 1948 he was still a member of the Democratic executive committee of the county.

I

The other men around the stove were cronies of his, all of them well known in the town, and with one exception about as important as anyone else in a little community where native human jealousies refuse to let anyone be very important. Willie Tracy, alcoholic, was not important. Yet he spoke with the voice of the poor white, and county politicians placed a value upon him as a mirror of what happened to be going on at any given time in the minds of the unwashed. Willie wore an army wool uniform, complete with field jacket and combat boots, given him by one of his sons. He had a black felt hat on his head and he was mildly drunk.

Mr. King was a well dressed, slight man of fifty, with dark hair and eyes. He was rich, as wealth goes in Yaupon, owning farmland and cattle and bank stock and living in a big luxurious house. In all his life Mr. King had never crawled out on the end of any limb. He was a cautious, methodical man. He was such a sound man that he was a little dull.

The fourth person in the little company was the Rev. Samuel Johnson, named for the great lexicographer but resembling him not at all. He was pastor of a local church. He was small and fat and talkative. He and Mr. King were smoking cigars.

"It's reconstruction over again," Mr. Allen said. "The difference is that it's Mr. Truman and the Democratic party that are tryin' to reconstruct us this time instead of the Republicans."

"Maybe it ain't that bad, Breckenridge," Mr. King said. "It does look bad. On the surface it looks like Truman's civil rights are a direct attack on the social customs and economic practices of the south. But I'll tell you what I think. I think it's just a lot of politics. I don't believe Truman actually wanted these changes he's advocating. But he's got to get votes. He probably figured that a strong liberal program on these matters will get some votes back from Henry Wallace, and will get a lot of northern Negro votes, and maybe southern Negro votes too. I don't believe anything is going to come of it. It's just a mess of politics."

"That's exactly what I think, Mr. King," said Samuel Johnson. "Just a mess of politics. If we just sit steady in the boat and do nothing it'll all blow over by next November, and we will go on living here in the south like we always have."

"You're both wrong," Mr. Allen replied with a touch of heat. "This time they're goin' to do things to us. It's do-nothin' people like you who are goin' to have the nigger rulin' over us in this country some day. This time we got to do somethin'. That Republican Congress is liable to pass some of them bills, and there are northern Democrats who will vote with them. We got to fight this time. We got to resist this thing. These Truman civil rights can ruin us."

"Well," said Mr. King, "Franklin Roosevelt advocated about the same things, and all that ever came out of it was that a few niggers got jobs in Washington. Just leave it alone and don't worry is what I say."

Mr. Allen was angry at this. "And vote for Truman for President?"

"Yes, if he's the nominee. It's Truman or some nobody that won't get as many votes as Truman would. They're talking about Eisenhower, but he says he don't want it. Personally, I don't blame him. Why should he want to step right into the middle of this Democratic party mess? It's not his responsibility to save the Democratic party. Maybe he doesn't care whether it's saved or not. Maybe he believes in civil rights too. It looks to me like it's Truman or nobody. If he gets elected I'm confident he'll forget all this civil rights business. He's probably plenty sick of it already."

"I'll bolt the party first," said Mr. Allen angrily.

"No, Breck, you won't bolt the party. You know you won't. It's a funny thing, but these state politicians who are hollering loudest about bolting the party are the same men that raised so much hell back in 1928 about not bolting when a lot of southern people wanted to vote for Hoover instead of Al Smith. Now the same crowd is wanting us to bolt."

"I'll never vote for Harry Truman!" Mr. Allen shouted, pounding his fist upon the bright leather of a new saddle that hung by his chair. "No sir! Not

me! I don't like him! I will not vote for a man who has come out in favor of everything I'm against. And if he don't mean it about these civil rights, he's dishonest for sayin' he does. Ain't that right, preacher?"

Mr. Johnson said that was right, but you do not expect the same morality in politics that you do in private life. "Of course I do not excuse Mr. Truman for misrepresenting his real opinion to get votes. But I really do think he's a good man. I hear he goes to church every Sunday."

"Preacher," said Willie Tracy, "if you'll excuse me for sayin' it, that is a simple-minded statement you just made."

II

Everyone laughed at Willie's thrust. "There ain't but one real issue in all this whole mater, and that's the nigger question," Willie continued. "I don't know nothin' about no civil rights, but I know a heap about how we got to live with the nigger. What is it Mr. Truman says he wants?"

Mr. Allen answered. "He wants to end segregation and poll taxes, and to pass lyinchin' laws, and to set up an FEPC. Those are the main points."

"I've studied it a heap," said Willie. "Now, what does all them words and letters mean? I'll tell you. They mean niggers ridin' in the same seats with you in trains and buses, and settin' by you in restaurants. They mean niggers votin' here in this county where they outnumber us and can outvote us. It means a nigger judge and a nigger sheriff and tax collector and solicitor. They got the votes and can elect them. It means niggers sittin' on juries and tryin' white people. It means niggers goin' to school with our children. It means our people gettin' tried away from here by strangers when they kill a nigger. It means niggers goin' to your church, preacher. How would you like a thing like that? It means havin' to hire niggers to work in our stores and offices and mills along with white people. It means puttin' the nigger on an equal with you and me. That's what it means. If you wasn't here, preacher, I'd say what I think of it, and of that man who's pushin' it."

The four were silent for a moment, considering Willie's words. Then Mr. Johnson said, "You put it at its worst, Willie. You don't really think it's going to be that way, do you?"

"It could be," Willie answered loudly. "It might be. But I'll tell you one thing, there'll be a lot of dead niggers in this county before it ever gets that way."

"Yes, and a lot of dead white people too," Mr. Johnson said. "You know, the niggers ain't like they used to be. You can't put your finger on 'em any more. They're polite, but you don't know what they're thinking, and you don't know what even the good ones feel about you. A lot of them seem to kind of hate us now."

"There's more bitterness in them lately than I ever saw," Mr. King agreed. "Sometimes I think it might be a good idea to pick out a few of the better ones and let them vote." But this was too daring, so Mr. King immediately denied that he had meant it. "But I guess it wouldn't do. It would be letting down the bars."

Mr. Johnson said, "It's the nigger problem with us, but in some other parts of the country these Truman laws will apply to Mexicans and Jews and Japanese and a lot of that kind."

"I ain't worryin' about none of them," said Willie. "I don't care about none of them. All I care about is keepin' the nigger in his place right here in this county. If he'll stay in his place, me and him can get along and like each other and work together and not have no trouble."

"That's right, Willie," Mr. Allen said. "Us southern people and our niggers can get along fine and work out our problems and be happy if the Yankees will just leave us alone."

"Yankees don't love niggers any more 'n we do," Willie said. "They kill 'em off up there too. But what I want to know, preacher, is what does the Bible say about all this race stuff?"

"I don't rightly know that it has a clear answer," Mr. Johnson replied. "There is a lot of racial discrimination in the Old Testament, but you don't find much of it in the New Testament. In fact I don't remember if there is any of it in the New Testament. It doesn't seem to make any distinction between races. But my argument against mixing the races is just simply this: the good Lord made the niggers black and made us white. In a Christian sense I am willing to call the nigger my brother, but why did the Lord make us two different colors if he meant the races to mingle? I don't believe he meant it that way. Anyhow, if he did, I ain't a good enough Christian to believe it."

III

"We're just wind-jammin' here," said Mr. Allen. "People all over the south are just wind-jammin'. What we got to do is to work out a plan. We got to do somethin'."

"Why, Breckenridge, the papers are full of plans every day," Mr. King said. "There's the Mississippi plan, and the Alabama plan, and the South Carolina plan, and near about every state has a plan."

"Yes," Allen retorted, "and they ain't worth nothin'. Some stupid county or state politician thinks up a plan and gets his name in the papers about two days and that's the last of his plan."

"Well, Breck, what can we do?" Mr. King asked.

"My idea is that the southern states should get out of the Democratic party, hold their own convention and nominate a southern Democrat."

"We couldn't win."

"No, but it would teach the Democratic party to respect the south."

"Yeah, and it would elect a Republican."

"Probably would. There's an outside chance though we might keep anyone from getting a majority and throw the election into the House of Representatives

and maybe win there, or get a compromise."

"That," said Mr. King, "is about as likely as it is that the Republicans will nominate Wallace. That is getting over into the imaginary and fantastic."

"All right, King," Mr. Allen said, aggrieved. "What do you think we should do?"

"Stay in the Democratic party and vote for the nominee."

"He might be Truman," said Willie.

"O.K., vote for him if the party nominates him."

"Not me," Willie snarled. "Before I'll vote for that blankety-blank I'll vote for a nigger for President."

"What do you recommend, Mr. Johnson?" Breck Allen asked.

"Nothing at all. I have no plan," the preacher replied. "Of course, there are some other possibilities than those you have mentioned. We could vote the Republican ticket."

"Not in this county," Mr. Allen said sharply. "That's no answer. They're worse 'n Truman on the race issue."

"Well, you might vote for Henry Wallace."

Mr. Allen and Willie Tracy answered that by cursing simultaneously. "The truth of the matter is," said Mr. Allen, "there ain't no place for us southern people to go. We can't go over to our enemies, and our friends have given us a knife in the back. We ought to do somethin'. That Congress up yonder is liable to pass some of them Truman laws against us. We shore ought to do somethin', but I don't know what."

"I know what I'm goin' to do," said Willie Tracy. "I aint goin' to vote.'

"Maybe I won't either, Willie," Mr. Allen said sadly, "but that don't help nothin'."

IV

Mr. King and the preacher rode home together through the rain, about nightfall.

"Its a bad situation," Mr. King said. "It could be very bad, though I guess the chances are not much will actually come of it."

"Congress may pass some of Truman's recommendations," said the preacher. "I would not be surprised to see some of them passed."

"They can't change our people by passing a few laws in Washington," Mr. King said.

"I don't know the answer to it."

"No, none of us knows. But Breckenridge and Willie and all the rest of us will stay in the party and vote for the nominee."

"Of course, even if it's Truman," said Samuel Johnson. "That seems to be the only thing that is certain."

"I think it is certain," said Mr. King, "but I am not sure. The feeling is pretty high. I don't know what's going to come of it. I just don't know."

Books

The Christian and the Jew

CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL. *By A. Roy Eckardt. King's Crown Press, $3.00.*

THE MAIN purpose of this competently written treatise is to examine the attitudes of Christians toward Jews—historically, currently and ideally—as these attitudes have been and are determined by various types of Christian theology. The influence of sociological factors is not denied, but the emphasis here is upon the ways in which the thinking of Christians about the will of God and the nature of Christianity has affected and should affect their treatment of Jews. This is a very important topic for study. It goes much deeper than the easy generalizations—easy in statement, however difficult in practical application—that the love of God is universal and that the religion of Jesus calls for kindness to everybody.

While the successive phases of Christian thought are surveyed in relation to this theme, the argument is chiefly directed toward an exposition of the value of the neo-orthodox (which the author prefers to call "neo-Reformation") theology as the key to understanding (a) the mind of God in regard to Jewry, past and present, (b) the place that Jews ought to have in the world now, and (c) the right attitudes and policies for Christians to adopt toward Jews, individually and collectively.

The factual part of the record is excellent and well documented. One's judgment of the interpretative part will, to some extent, depend upon the degree of one's acceptance of the author's neo-orthodox presuppositions. The phrase, "liberalism has failed," naturally makes an early appearance. Since these matters are not argued in the book, there is no reason why they should be in the review. Passing that, I should like to pay tribute to the scholarship and fairness with which the author attempts to relate the successive phases of Christian thought to both the theoretical and the practical aspects of Christian-Jewish relations.

In one important respect, Dr. Eckardt's conception of the Jews' rightful place in the modern world is closely parallel to that presented by Mordecai Kaplan in his recent book, *The Future of the American Jew* (reviewed in the issue of February 25). Both writers consider it essential to regard Jews not primarily as adherents of a religion but as members of a distinct ethnic and cultural group which has a right to whatever may be needed to insure its perpetuation as such. Eckardt regards cultural pluralism as necessarily permanent. Any expectation of ultimate cultural homogeneity within a nation (e.g., the United States), even as the result of the normal forces of social evolution voluntarily accepted, is described as a "fascist" mood. Certain editorial statements of The Christian Century are held up as a horrible example of this. That also can be passed without argument, since it is only a dictum springing from the author's general dogma of cultural pluralism plus his particular belief that God has special reasons for wanting the Jews to continue as a distinct people.

The Jews, like all the rest of us, are viewed as "under the judgment of God." But whether they must be encouraged and assisted to preserve their secular and cultural "peoplehood," with Eretz Yisrael as a homeland, seems to be irrelevant to the theological considerations advanced—unless it is affirmed that the Jews stand under a special kind of judgment which would lack a sufficiently concrete object if they ever ceased to be a distinct and recognizable ethnic and cultural group. But the author is a positive foe to

anti-Semitism. A large part of his purpose is to show that his "neo-Reformation" theology gives no countenance to this criminal madness. Personally I do not accept the idea that the Jews of today rest under some special "judgment of God" that applies uniquely to them. But if they do—and here the author agrees—certainly it is not the business of Christians to execute that judgment. W. E. GARRISON.

Love and Danger

THE PURPLE PLAIN. *By H. E. Bates. Atlantic Monthly Press (Little, Brown), $2.75.*

A YOUNG aviator is depressed by the death of his bride in a bombing raid and by his subsequent assignment to a station in a forlorn region where the heat overwhelms him and his associates become loathsome. He is morose, obsessed by thoughts of suicide, nearly at the door of insanity. Then he is attracted to life again by his interest in a young Burmese woman and her friends; and he proves his recovery by heroic devotion in danger.

But this is not a psychological novel, though the psychology is adequate. Neither is it a story that depends on its setting, though the Burmese people and their missionary friends are interesting indeed. And it is not intended to advocate mixed marriage, though the possibility of a happy union of white and Burmese is quietly assumed. It is rather a story of that common sort, long loved by the public, in which the reader tastes the pleasure of romantic strangeness, of loving a charming girl, and of surmounting danger with the most admirable display of humor, generosity and resourcefulness. Love and triumph over difficulty—these are the material of this novel, as of ten thousand others.

What of it, so long as H. E. Bates is the author? Boccaccio supplied the material for the "Clerk's Tale," and Holinshed for "Macbeth"; but Chaucer and Shakespeare told the stories. Mr. Bates has few peers in the art of dressing the perennial stuff of human interest in living colors. Some of his characters should be placed in the portrait gallery beside the Wife of Bath, Touchstone, Dick Swiveller and Mrs. Proudie—in particular the adorable, half-hysterical Baptist missionary, Miss McNab, with her continuous chatter and her atrociously dyed mop of hair; and Mr. Prang, with his umbrella, who leaps from his bike and greets us with the words "So long!" Bates has the gift of imparting reality to action and personality, even with the lightest strokes. His invention seems endless; read for example the whimsical dialogue between "horse" and "jockey"—between the pilot and the injured navigator whom he is carrying through the parched hills. And he can suggest mood and the almost inaudible overtones of the mind by delicate description. In short, anyone who takes pleasure in vividly imagined experience will enjoy this tale.

RALPH HINSDALE GOODALE.

Books in Brief

THE CHOICE, A STORY OF CHRISTIAN FAITH. *By Paul Sevier Minear. Westminster Press, $2.00.* Utilizing his resources of New Testament scholarship, Dr. Minear writes a story of the Christian community in Rome during Nero's persecutions. Without trying to become a serious competitor for honors as a writer of historical fiction, the author personalizes the issues which confronted the Christians of that day and especially those in which an intelligent young Jew became involved before and after his conversion to Christianity.

THE CHURCH, THE GOSPEL AND WAR. *Edited by Rufus M. Jones. Harper, $2.00.* This is the latest and perhaps the best handbook of Christian pacifism—a symposium of contributions (some reprinted from earlier writings) by twelve well known and highly honored authors. Bainton's chapter on the early church and war is a scholarly study. The conclusion is Evelyn Underhill's declaration, "The church must repudiate war."

WITHOUT HALOS. *By Bess White Cochran. Westminster Press, $2.50.* A completely delightful book in which one of a minister's five daughters gives her version of "life with father." The father is the widely known and just as widely loved late Walter M. White of Memphis. The author-daughter, Mrs. Cochran, wields a practiced and vivacious typewriter. There was plenty of fun, and much more than that, in the famous White parsonage.

READINGS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. *T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley, chairmen of editorial committee. Henry Holt & Co., $3.85.* A very solid volume (672 pages) of well selected materials from a large number of sources, sponsored by the Committee on the Teaching of Social Psychology and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The book was prepared for professional students, but it deals with topics that concern every intelligent person.

ABRAM, SON OF TERAH. *By Florence Marvyne Bauer. Bobbs-Merrill Co., $3.00.* Ten verses beginning with Genesis 11:26 are the biblical basis of this powerful novel—from "Terah lived seventy years and begat Abram" to "the Lord had said unto Abram, get thee out of thy country . . . and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed." Ancient Ur, with its pagan and polygamous culture, its industries and priestcraft, its political intrigues and household complications, comes vividly to life in the story of Terah's prosperous family and the misfortunes that overtook it. The story is, of course, pure fiction, but it seems to be based on a careful study of the results of historical research. Abram, seeking a "patron" in the pantheon of Babylonian gods, is guided to "Yah," the one God, by Eber the Amorite. Judged strictly on its merits as fiction, this is a good novel. It is one of the relatively few novels on biblical themes that can stand this test and that deserve to live.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE COMING OF THE WAR, 1941: A STUDY IN APPEARANCES AND REALITIES. *By Charles A. Beard. Yale University Press, $5.00.* There will probably be controversy about the justification of President Roosevelt's prewar policies and statements as long as history remembers his name. One point is no longer controversial—that the actual policies and the public statements were not in harmony. The President was driving the country toward war while declaring that there would be no war. Mr. Beard's present work is primarily a compilation of documents which exhibit: (a) the contrast between policies and statements before the war; (b) the conflict between the immediate official explanations of the actual beginning of the war and the subsequently revealed facts as recorded in reports by the army, the navy and the congressional Pearl Harbor inquiry committee. President Truman said (Aug. 30, 1945), in commenting on the Pearl Harbor reports, that the country was "not ready for preparedness" before December 1941. It was not ready because it believed, on President Roosevelt's word, that the country would not be involved in any war abroad. But even though it is proved that Mr. Roosevelt strained his constitutional powers to get the country into the war against the will of a majority of the people, still there remains a ground on which his policy may be defended. Beard defines that ground. The defense

must be that the consequences of our failure to enter the European and Asiatic war would have been so disastrous that the President was justified in securing our entrance (1) in spite of the people's opposition to it, (2) by concealment and indirection, and (3) through the assumption of unprecedented "emergency" powers which remain, even in time of peace, as a vast new concentration of authority in the hands of the executive. Dr. Beard neither accuses nor defends. As a historian of the present, he aims to let the records tell exactly what President Roosevelt's role was in relation to the coming of the war. The historians of the future will have to apportion the praise or blame. Meanwhile, Roosevelt's friends will not like Beard's tone of voice; but it is not easy to brush off his facts. His theme song is, in effect, Al Smith's favorite phrase: "Now let's look at the record."

THE GOSPEL RECORDS OF THE MESSAGE AND MISSION OF JESUS CHRIST. *By Albert Cassel Wieand. Brethren Pub. House, Elgin, Ill., $3.00.* A harmony of the Gospels, using the text of the new Revised Standard Version. Dr. Wieand, now president emeritus, was for 27 years president of Bethany Biblical Seminary and for 41 years professor of biblical literature.

THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF MACMURRAY COLLEGE. *By Mary Watters. MacMurray College for Women, Jacksonville, Ill.* The story of a century of college education in central Illinois is inevitably a record woven closely into the fabric of the cultural history of the middle west, from pioneer days to now. When the story is that of a Methodist college, it involves much concerning the planting and growth of religion, and of Methodism in particular.

NEGRO BUSINESS AND BUSINESS EDUCATION. *By Joseph A. Pierce. Harper, $4.00.* If the Negro race is ever going to get beyond the status of virtuous and humble "Uncle Tomism," a fair proportion of Negroes must become successful in business. This substantial volume, sponsored by Atlanta University, presents the rather surprising facts concerning the volume and variety of Negro achievements in business, and a study of problems, prospects and principles for further development. W. E. G.

CORRESPONDENCE

Stassen on the Record

SIR: In the first editorial in your April 28 issue you say, "The most hopeful recent development in American politics is the emergence of Harold E. Stassen as a foremost contender for the Republican nomination for president." Have you forgotten Stassen's statement some months ago to the Southern Baptists that he did not agree with them in their opposition to Myron Taylor's presence in Rome, and that he did not agree with them in their opposition to allowing tax money for private and parochial schools?

Chicago. A. KASPER.

Au Revoir!

SIR: I am not renewing my subscription because your publication is so partisan politically. I have no brief for the present administration, but I wonder just what you editors would have done to make things better for our country and the world had you been in the national executive office. In your April 14 editorial, "Peace Can Yet Be Saved," you seem to think the President is wholly evil and reprehensible in his requests for preparedness measures. To quote: "Twice before in this generation we have stood on this divide. In both instances we took, without knowing what we did, a direction that led us to war. . . . Shall we take this course again? The results of two world wars give the answer. Not one of the larger objectives of those struggles was achieved. Instead, the world is infinitely worse off today than if they had never been fought. Its condition is vastly more precarious than it would be if the United States had resolutely maintained its neutrality in both conflicts or either of them."

This is just words, not based on facts; wishful dreaming, without sound judgment. It is true that not all great ideals were realized. But it is true that German aggression was stopped, and that opportunity was given the weakened nations to achieve democracy. Hitler, and all he stood for, was given a destructive beating, and the world has today the opportunity to form a united world for peace and decency.

Had the United States remained neutral during the two world wars, no one can imagine what the results might have been. I cannot see how it could have been possible for us to be neutral in such struggles. And had we succeeded in doing so, where would the people of Europe and Asia now be? And what would the United States now be facing? On just what basis can you say that "the world is infinitely worse off today" than if we had not taken our part in those wars? Would you follow the policy of appeasement to the ultimate? I read enough such bunk in the daily press and in the magazines.

Congregational Church, PEREZ N. BENNET.
Big Timber, Mont.

Subjects to Include

SIR: I have seen no clearer, more cogent and, in truth, more convincing statement on the controversial question of religious teaching in our schools and colleges than your splendid editorial in the issue of April 28. It is strange that no experienced and thoughtful educator has anticipated you and made the distinction that settles the question once and for all.

Certainly religion can and should be studied in all our educational institutions. Study is not indoctrination. No faith, denomination or sect can rationally object to a fair scientific, earnest exposition of the essential doctrines of the major religions. I truly believe that your editorial ought to lead to the early introduction of the proper religious courses in at least some of our schools and colleges. Failure to do so would argue apathy, unwarranted fear, lack of vitality.

May I make two points? A course on the essentials of the major religions, entrusted to respected theologians and scholars, should include a prologue dealing with the pagan faiths and two or three lectures on rationalism, freethought and agnosticism. The school to which Darwin, Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, Arnold and Stephen belonged cannot be ignored. If it were passed over in silence, the students would ask embarrasing questions and suspect the sincerity of the organizers of the courses. Finally, seminars should be held after the course and the students encouraged to discuss all the aspects of the great issues involved therein. In other words, the "study" should be candid, vigorous and spirited.

La Jolla, Calif. VICTOR S. YARROS.

What's All the Fuss About?

SIR: This sudden wave of hysteria regarding the teaching of religion in our public schools is unwarranted. The public schools have done a mighty fine job in the past hundred

years and have turned out some mighty fine citizens, lawyers, doctors, teachers and clergymen and many lay persons, men and women both, who have an enviable record of achievement.

The Catholic clergy has attempted to becloud this issue by erecting a straw man, secularism, and blaming him for everything under the sun. The public schools of our country are *not* godless and never were. The recent decision of the Supreme Court was a protection to prevent this from becoming a church-dominated country. The ecclesiastics are attempting to claim that the decision approves of barring God from our public schools and are practically stating that the Supreme Court approves of atheism. Let us hope and trust that our Protestant neighbors will not be contaminated by this vicious propaganda.

Fitchburg, Mass. B. GREGORY STONE.

Begin with the Sunday School

SIR: Your correspondence from some of my colleagues in the ministry certainly reveals the gamut minds are running. For my part I agree with your stand. "More effective ways to combat secularism" will have to be found.

I believe that the weekday school was a stop-gap measure in the first place. Released time did not begin with the church, but with liberal educators. The church seized it as an opportunity. And with it has come a decline in efficient Sunday school teaching. Perhaps the first thing to do to "combat secularism" is to make the Sunday school more efficient. Content is important as well as educational approach. The new curriculum of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., is a case in point. The church must improve its educational methods before it can feel morally free to try to capitalize on school time and school property.

Presbyterian Church, ALFRED B. BAUER.
East Pembroke, N.Y.

An Invitation from China

SIR: The article "Lost Religious Liberals," in your issue for February 11, gives a perfect picture of the neo-Confucianist, the non-Christian Chinese liberal of the present day. Why do not the humanist Unitarian brethren cast off the shackles of an unworthy orthodoxy, refuse any longer to be parasites, and come and live in China and see if *they* can make it work?

Fukien Christian University, RODERICK SCOTT.
Foochow, China.

There Is Also Secularist Indoctrination

SIR: My colleague, Prof. John L. Childs, in his article in your issue for April 28, inadvertently misquoted me, making me say that "our secular culture can give no support to the democratic ideal." Omission of the word "adequate" before "support" makes all the difference between what I assume all atheists believe and what no sensible person would affirm.

But why this laborious effort to prove to Christian Century readers that I am a theist and hold theistic assumptions about the durable foundations of democracy? Herein I think Mr. Childs, who is a fearless and conscientious defender of a thoroughgoing secularist philosophy, points up the real issue. It is not religious indoctrination in the schools, as your able editorial of the same date makes clear. My views on this question are expressed in the report, *The Relation of Religion to Public Education,* published last year by a committee of the American Council on Education, of which I am a member. The argument in that report, as many of your readers will have noted, is strikingly similar to that of your editorial.

The real issue is whether the education of our youth is to include an understanding of the religious tradition which is a part of their cultural heritage, or is to be informed with a frankly secularist bias. It is not Christianity but a non-theistic philosophy which is now bidding for the right to indoctrinate in public educational institutions. The suggesttions that a reverent study of religious history and religious institutions—which is implicit in reverence for persons—involves "religious tests" is surely irrelevant and fanciful.

Teachers College, F. ERNEST JOHNSON,
Columbia University, Professor of Education.
New York, N.Y.

Confusing the Issue

SIR: It is wonderful to see the regular Christian Century again! Its brief absence was a blessing in disguise, since it served to dramatize the value and worth of the paper.

I note in your April 21 issue two letters attacking your stand on the Supreme Court decision in the Campaign case. The first, from K. Jansen, is fanatical and trivial. But the second, from Roger B. McShane, raises several interesting issues, if only by virtue of the fallacies it contains.

Mr. McShane asserts that by aiding "secularism," you are working against "the cause of Christ." Perhaps. But are you really aiding "secularism," or are you not rather seeking to preserve our non-sectarian public school system from clerical control and ultimate destruction? How unfortunate that Christians should try to shift the responsibility for their own failures to the bogey of "secularism"! How sad that we should confuse religion with sectarianism!

Belmont, Mass. CHARLES H. WHITTIER.

And in Labor

SIR: "Free American Education" by John L. Childs in the April 28 issue is fine. I would like to point out to Mr. Childs that his fear of segregation's spreading to other fields, namely trade unions, is a real one. In fact it has already been substantiated and is producing some tragic results. For those of your readers who might be interested in this problem I would like to suggest reading "Nine Years of ACTU (Association of Catholic Trade Unionists)" in the *Catholic Digest* for June, 1946. Page 11 states the purpose of ACTU, quoting Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno*: "Side by side with these unions there must be associations which aim at giving their members a thorough religious and moral training." How this works out in practice is well documented in a pamphlet, *Disruption in District Eight,* issued by District 8, United Electrical Workers, St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 20, 1947.

The most recent disruption by ACTU is a program demanding that *all* C.I.O. unions support the Marshall plan and drop Henry Wallace. Under instructions from Mr. Brophy all county council charters are to be withdrawn from those refusing to comply. The issue is a sharp one: Trade union democracy vs. Vatican foreign policy.

Concord, Calif. GLEN H. SHANKS.

Mischief-Making Tigner

SIR: I protest against the publication of such articles as "Design of the Future," by Hugh S. Tigner, in your April 21 issue. Such utterances will do no good and may do much harm. The article is forceless and ineffectual, but it does contain one startling, arresting idea, which is the bald statement that Russia's wickedness is so "jet-black" that our own misdeeds appear white in comparison, and that our present world policy compared with Russia's is a combination of "purest altruism and sweetest reasonableness."

The American people are being rapidly mesmerized into acceptance of a Third World War, more ghastly than even its monster predecessors. They are being persuaded that this is their only possible defense against a black, shapeless,

intangible terror they call communism. As a matter of fact, we know practically nothing about communism except through rumor, and that is contradictory in the extreme. One returning traveler reports that things over there are very bad; another assures us that the new idea is working nicely. Because we live on the other side of the globe we are in no position to judge.

We can see, however, with our own eyes that Russia is not over here; we are over there. We are shaking our mailed fist under her very nose, encircling her with an ever-tightening band of bristling militarism. We are demanding that she relinquish her plan of living in favor of ours, and backing our demands by our confidence in the atomic bomb.

One thing is certain, and that is that in no possible way can communism be forced upon America if she chooses to reject it. Shall we therefore destroy our whole world in a futile attempt to buy out communism with ever increasing taxation, and crush it out by brute military force? The decision is in the hands of the people. Just as surely as the unthinking masses are fed with hate and fear, just so surely will they walk into the trap set for them by the devil, or whatever his modern substitute may be called. Gamaliel's counsel might be thoughtfully considered at this period. The Christian Century would do better to employ its columns in urging the individual to square his account with God, rather than frightening him into even greater depths of wickedness, for it would indeed look as if we were approaching the end of the world.

The Plains, Va. ILWYN TURNER.

Rebel Negroes

SIR: It is astonishing to have your paper give encouragement to that which comes so nearly to being treason. The action of certain Negro leaders in declaring that they will not take service in the armed forces unless the armed forces dispense with segregation simply means that a large section of our population refuses to defend the country unless the plans to defend the country are made to suit themselves. If every group is going to refuse to do its part politically until every plan and program is written to its order and specification, certainly confusion will be worse confounded. Of course, there is a problem involved, but to rebel is not the answer.

Oak Hill Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, Mo. THEODORE S. SMYLIE.

No, Do It This Way!

SIR: "Public schools can teach religion," as you state in your challenging editorials in the April 28 issue. You suggest that modern pedagogy can find a way and it is my conviction that it has. However, the way is slightly different from the way suggested in your editorial. You suggest that teaching religion consist of "the imparting of knowledge concerning religion" rather than the "inculcation of religious attitudes and devotion." The best educators of all times have deplored the subject-matter approach, and have practiced a functional approach. They have substituted activity for mere acquisition of knowledge, and have made their applications dynamic rather than merely informational. Such a program as you outline would reduce religion to the dead formalism of the scholasticism of the Middle Ages.

There is a way for the public schools to teach religion and to keep it vital and dynamic—the way the writer has done it as a regular member of the teaching staff of the public school with the approval of the community. The teacher taught in school a course based upon the Bible, taking care to limit the instruction and permitted discussion to those religious doctrines acceptable to all those who were represented in the class. Whenever a problem arose about which there were sectarian differences, no discussion was permitted in class but the student was referred to his minister or to his parents.

This plan not only safeguarded the school from violation of our cherished principles of religious freedom, but resulted in hearty support of all religious elements, who found that the school course stimulated a more vital interest in religion. The real value of linking the school course with the church and home is that it tended to make religion vital by encouraging at home and through the church the dynamic outlet and applications of religious principles that the school alone cannot provide as long as the religious expression of most people is directed along sectarian lines.

Atlantic Christian College, Wilson, N.C. RAYMOND R. MILLER, Professor of Education.

[We may fail to understand the point which our correspondent is trying to make, but we confess that his suggested alternative for the proposal in our editorial seems to us a distinction without a difference.—THE EDITORS.]

Church Editors and U.M.T.

SIR: In a recent editorial entitled "Church Editors Oppose War," you stated that "71 Protestant editors condemned U.M.T. and only four favored it." As a member of the Associated Church Press who was present, I recall the vote distinctly. There were 15 who favored a resolution opposing U.M.T. and four who voted against it. The vote was by show of hands and the secretary announced the result audibly. That one side of the vote could grow so enormously somewhere between New York and Chicago while the other remained unchanged is indeed amazing. Or could it have happened in the composing room? Scarcely could a church journal be given to such an exaggeration. Or could it?

In the next sentence you continue: "Although the press generally gives the impression of a landslide for war preparation . . . ," thus seeming to imply that such impressions are contrary to fact. Perhaps they are; perhaps not. In view of the unfactual argument presented at first, can we have confidence in the second? Are you again conveying an impression not objectively justified? While a given point of view may be tolerable, even commendable, it deteriorates if bolstered by misrepresentation. Nor is the cause of church journalism thereby enhanced.

General Commission on Chaplains, Washington, D.C. DELMAR L. DYRESON, Editor *The Chaplain* and *The Link*.

SIR: Chaplain Dyreson is partly right and partly wrong. He is wrong in suggesting that only 19 people were present. There were about 50 present at the final session. They were not counted and I admit that 50 is my estimate. From where I sat as presiding officer I could see that the room was half full.

Chaplain Dyreson is more nearly right about the voting. There were four votes opposing the resolution on U.M.T. Of the 50 persons present, obviously the Canadian editors did not vote on this American issue. A few, including two newspaper reporters, were not entitled to vote. According to parliamentary procedure the president and the secretary did not vote. I would have voted in favor of the resolution and I think the secretary would have done likewise. Moreover, I know at least four others who would have voted in favor of the resolution. Somehow I have a vague recollection that the vote was taken twice because someone asked for a count. The show of hands was counted rather hurriedly by the secretary and if he announced it as 15, then I presume that figure will have to stand, although my impression from where I sat was that the number was larger. There can be no question about only four having voted against the resolution, and therefore in favor of U.M.T., because four hands lifted into the air could be instantly spotted.

Associated Church Press, New York, N.Y. WILLIAM B. LIPPHARD, President.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Methodists Hold Quadrennial General Conference in Boston

Denounce War and Conscription and Offer to Unite with Other Protestant Churches — Skirt Issue of Segregation— Adopt $50,000,000 Program

By Harold E. Fey

BOSTON, May 9.—Vigorous denunciation of conscription and war and a ringing appeal for the reunion of Protestantism highlighted the 1948 quadrennial conference of the Methodist Church, which adjourned here today. The conference skirted the troublesome issue of segregation within the church but took several actions which are expected to undermine racial discrimination in its own ranks. It stoutly resisted efforts to lower its standards of ministerial training and strengthened its colleges and seminaries. It set up more than 20 commissions to study and report on various matters, chief of which was a group given $60,000 a year to study how to streamline the organization through which 8,567,772 members maintain their "connectionalism." It voted to raise during the next four years over $50,000,000 for church benevolences and to deepen as well as expand its life under the slogan, "For Christ and the Church."

Consider Over 1,500 Items

Among all the national assemblies of Protestant churches, there is nothing quite like a Methodist General Conference. This year its vitality, which makes this denomination the greatest common denominator of Protestantism, overflowed barnlike Mechanics Hall into 250 pulpits and most of the hotel lobbies in Boston. In the hall, interest centered on the great floor, covered with rows of tables for 758 domestic and 92 foreign delegates and dotted with microphones for their use. Working like beavers, delegates pushed through the business of the conference, which came before them in more than 1,500 memorials from individuals, churches and annual conferences.

Huge Volume of Paper Work

Half the delegates are laymen and half ministers, all being elected by their annual conferences. This year 52 delegates were Negroes. They and the bishops of their race took part in all proceedings. There was no racial discrimination, either in the conference or in the hotels. Each delegate is supplied with four books, whose contents, totalling around 2,000 pages, he must master. In addition to the omnipresent *Discipline*, he has a *Handbook* of 200 pages containing every detail of conference organization, a 700 page book of reports of all boards and commissions and a fat file of the *Daily Christian Advocate*, which gives him every proposal, on which he must act, in printed form. By the end of this conference, this *Congressional Record* of Methodism ran to nearly 400 large and closely printed pages.

Seated on the platform in unaccustomed silence were 31 active, 17 foreign and 18 retired bishops. The only contribution they are permitted to make to the discussions, aside from answering questions, is made in the episcopal address which opens the conference. This year the bishops met for a week in a pre-conference session and compiled a 24,000 word statement, which was presented by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of New York. A different bishop is chosen to preside over each session. Two Negro bishops drew this coveted honor this year and handled the meeting rather better than some of their white colleagues. One of the latter drew a reproof from a delegate for his remark that the delegate might speak, although the bishop doubted that what he had to say was necessary. For this the bishop later publicly expressed his regret.

Church or War Must Go

The high point of the debate of the conference was reached in the discussion of the unanimous report of the committee on the state of the church, whose chairman was Ernest Fremont Tittle, minister of First Church, Evanston, Illinois. This report condemned the "sinfulness" of war and declared that "the church must use its spiritual power to destroy war or war will destroy the church and humanity." It held that "since Christianity and war are utterly opposed, the church as the body of Christ, the carrier of the gospel, the institution that bears Christ's name, must not become the agent of any government for its furtherance. The task of the church is healing, reconciliation, the removal of prejudice and hate, the cementing of bonds of brotherhood, the exalting of God as the father and ruler of all mankind and Christ as the savior of all. This task it cannot perform if it becomes a partisan in international conflict."

Southern Delegates Oppose

The report recognized "the need of national defense" but held that the individual Christian must decide "prayerfully before God" his duty in relation thereto. "What the Christian citizen may not do is to obey men rather than God, or overlook the degree of compromise in our best acts, or gloss over the sinfulness of war." The report declared "opposition to any system of peacetime universal military training." Southern delegates led the debate against this provision, but were defeated by about six to one in the vote. The conference adopted the report without amendment, including its provision that "war between the Soviet Union and the United States is not inevitable," its endorsement of the United Nations and its stand for economic justice and disarmament.

Baker Heads Unity Group

It was generally agreed that this General Conference moved further in the direction of Christian union than any of its predecessors. The bishop's address held that "the churches must become the church . . . Agreement is possible." The conference accepted their challenge to "move from the exploration of the possibilities of union to the creation of the spirit and structure of union" by raising its committee on relationships with other churches to the status of a commission on union, of which Bishop Baker was made chairman. It has power to discuss concrete proposals from the Protestant Episcopal, the Evangelical United Brethren and other churches. It is authorized to enter, in the name of the Methodist Church, with other denominations into the conference called by the Federal Council to consider the proposal of the Congregational Christian and Disciples churches that churches which accept the validity of each other's ministries and sacraments shall unite. The General Conference approved the formation of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America, thus removing a major obstacle to the merger of eight interchurch agencies. And it urged overseas Methodists to consider sympathetically proposals for Protestant union.

Breach Wall of Segregation

The General Conference attacked the problem of racial discrimination within the Methodist Church in several ways. Its most important action was to open some of its conferences to Negro churches, nearly all of which have hitherto been confined to the "Central Jurisdiction" of the church. Now, with the consent of all concerned, Negro churches in the northeast and in the west may enter the conferences in which they lie, and the wall of segregation around the Central Jurisdiction is breached. In addition, the conference adopted, as a result of 13 memorials, a report of the committee on state of the church which said that "the principle of racial discrimination is in clear violation of the Christian belief in the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and the kingdom of God—the proclamation of which in word and life is our gospel. We therefore have no choice but to denote it as unchristian and to renounce it as evil. This we do without equivocation."

While the report did not mention the word "segregation," it attacked segregation by providing for equal participation by all races in the staffs of boards and by requiring "complete equality of accomodations for all

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races . . . in national and international meetings" of the church. It stood for equality in church schools and institutions, in political franchise and economic and educational opportunities. It continued the commission which is working on this issue. Opposition to the adoption of this resolution was confined to delegates from the southern states, one of whom complained that the resolution "lays on us burdens greater than we can bear." But the opposition was defeated by 4 to 1.

To Raise $50,000,000

Planning of the conference for the next quadrennium centered on the adoption of the "For Christ and the Church" program. It includes a 33 per cent increase in giving to all causes of the church and an additional amount of $4,000,000 a year which is asked above apportionments. A program of education designed to deepen the understanding of Methodists concerning the nature of the church and its ministry is projected. The theological seminaries are to be strengthened as an answer to the effort of some delegates at this conference to lower the standards of the ministry by permitting "supply" ministers to discharge all the functions of the office. In response to the criticism made from the floor that the church's secretariat increased from 839 in 1944 to 1,518 in 1948 and that pastors are flooded with a deluge of printed matter, a restudy of Methodist organization was ordered.

Defend Public Schools

The General Conference unanimously adopted a strong resolution condemning current attempts to breach the wall of separation of church and state and another denouncing the Taylor embassy to the Vatican. It urged support of the public schools and advocated the teaching of religious knowledge as a cultural subject.

No Social Action Commission

The conference approved of the formation of a Christian university in Japan. A resolution looking "with disfavor on chaplains being a part of the armed forces" was defeated, but two Negroes were added to the chaplaincy commission. A motion instructing the commission on church union to approve E. Stanley Jones' plan of church federal union was ruled out of order. A committee was set up to investigate the need for one church headquarters, and the conference gave an affable but non-committal endorsement to B. F. Lamb's project of an interdenominational "Temple of Good Will" in Columbus, Ohio. The proposal that the church set up a continuing commission on social action was lost, but all church boards were ordered to integrate this emphasis into their work.

Among the noted speakers who addressed this conference were John Foster Dulles, Congressman Walter Judd, President Loule F. Newton of the Southern Baptist Convention, Ambassador Wellington Koo of China, and President Frederick May Eliot of the Unitarian Association.

Expenses of this General Conference ran between $200,000 and $275,000, according to estimates. The per diem: $9.

Try to Block Sale of Migrant Camps

California Farmer Organization Seek Legislation to Prevent State's Buying Federal Properties

SAN FRANCISCO, May 5.—The migrant labor camps established during the depression by the federal government have become a political issue in the California legislature. The government has offered to sell 23 of these camps to the state for $600,000. But farm groups which have operated them since federal funds ran out last September have pushed through the senate a resolution opposing state ownership. The proposal still must pass the lower house before it carries. As those who have followed the Home Missions Council's ministry know, the camps provided for farm laborers have never been anything to be proud of. The federal camps at least assured minimum sanitary standards. The San Francisco *News* in urging state operation of the samps says: "They can continue to serve as a guarantee against repetition of the disgraceful 'ditch camp' settlements that menaced public health during the dust bowl migration era. . . . There is a question as to whether the farming interests seeking to block state control can, as they profess to desire, buy and operate the camps privately. Purchase requires a large sum of money. And the danger of the camps' becoming 'company housing' types of worker accommodation, with the workers at the mercy of employers, is very great."

* * *

Drought Spurs Power Debate

In spite of frequent rains, the water shortage still is northern California's greatest problem. The Pacific Gas & Electric Co. has fought every effort at government power production in past years and has even refused to buy power from the Reclamation Service on its terms, which prohibit the resale of government power at a profit. Government officials say they warned power producers 10 years ago that the state faced a power shortage, but P.G. & E. always insisted that its facilities were ample. The water shortage has revived talk of building earth fills across the arms of the San Francisco bay to prevent tidewater's making the rivers salt many miles from their mouths. This would provide fresh water for industrial use. There is even agitation for bringing Columbia river water south, and for trying to "desalt" ocean water. Certain plans for industrial expansion have been halted because of the crisis.

* * *

Rules California's Released Time Plan Constitutional

Because the state law under which released-time religious education classes were established does not per-

mit the use of public buildings for those classes, California's attorney general has ruled that the program is constitutional. The attorney for the San Francisco board of education had expressed an opinion that released time "is beyond question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public school system to aid religious faiths to spread their faiths and falls squarely under the ban of the first amendment." This city has never had a released-time program.

* * *

Seek to Return Skyscraper Property to Church

Legislation has been introduced in Congress to permit the return of Temple Methodist Church to the 28-story building at 100 McAllister St., San Francisco, which it formerly owned. Housing Temple Church and the William Taylor hotel, the building was erected in 1929 at a cost of $2,800,000 under the joint sponsorship of Central, Howard Street, California Street and Wesley Methodist churches. It went into receivers' hands during the depression and was privately operated as the Empire hotel until the outbreak of the war. Then it was taken over by the federal government and converted into offices. In the meantime, Temple united with First Congregational Church, and its pastor, Edgar A. Lowther, served as co-pastor with Jason Noble Pierce for several years. Then the union was dissolved, and Temple has since held its services in the Scottish Rite auditorium. Fred D. Parr, layman who formerly was president of the Northern California-Nevada council of churches, and R. Ormand Roberts, pastor of Temple, are leading the movement to lease from the government the portion of the building containing the sanctuary. Action in Congress is being spurred by Representatives Richard Welch and Frank Havenner and by Senator Sheridan Downey.

* * *

And So Forth

Because so many agricultural workers in the San Joaquin valley have been laid off as a result of the drought and the consequent power shortage, the relief load in that area has gone up tremendously.

T. Christie Innes, who since 1944 has served as general secretary of the American Tract Society, on April 30 was installed by the San Francisco presbytery as pastor of Calvary Presbyterian Church in this city.

Government aid for parochial schools was advocated here recently at the 49th annual convention of the National Catholic Educational Association. Such aid was contended for most strongly in addresses by Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati, who was re-elected president of the association, and by William E. McManus, associate director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The Pacific School of Religion on April 18 honored five trustees who have served on its board for more than 25 years. W. EDGAR GREGORY.

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THE ABINGDON-COKESBURY AWARD HAS BEEN ESTABlished to encourage the writing of distinguished books in the broad field of evangelical Christianity. The award is offered at intervals of approximately two years to the author of the book manuscript which, in the opinion of a Board of Judges, *will accomplish the greatest good for the Christian faith and Christian living among all people.*

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Duplicate awards were made in 1948 to *John Wick Bowman,* for his manuscript, THE RELIGION OF MATURITY; and to *Georgia Harkness,* for her manuscript, PRAYER AND THE COMMON LIFE.

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Federal Council Urges New Mood

Adopts, then Presents to Mr. Truman, Statement Deploring War Hysteria, Proposing Measures for Peace

NEW YORK, May 8.—At a special meeting here last Monday, the Federal Council's executive committee adopted a statement setting forth a "positive program for peace" as prepared by the department of international justice and good will. It condemned complacency about war and urged the American people to combat the "mood of hysteria which tends to look upon a preventive war as an acceptable means of resolving the world crisis." In outlining a positive program, the statement listed specific goals for peace: greater economic well-being throughout the world, more emphasis on social justice, and the protection of human rights within the framework of the United Nations. It recommended that the avenues of diplomatic conversation between the Soviet Union and the United States be kept open and used. Through recognizing that "in present conditions of international anarchy . . . national military strength is necessary while efforts continue to achieve multilateral reduction and control of armaments," the statement sharply criticized the preponderant influence being exercised by military leaders in shaping American policy.

• • •

Present Statement to President Truman

On Friday a committee representing the council called on President Truman to present the complete statement. It included Bishop John S. Stamm of the Evangelical United Brethren Church; Moderator Wilbur La Roe of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Protestant Episcopal Bishop Angus Dun; Moderator J. R. Cunningham of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.; Edwin E. Aubrey, president of Crozer Theological Seminary (Baptist); and Walter W. Van Kirk of the Federal Council staff. These leaders impressed upon the President the fact that the 25 denominations represented in the council are determined to do everything in their power to "check the forces that have pushed mankind to the brink of international conflict."

• • •

Dulles Terms Any War With Russia 'Stupid'

In opening the four-hour discussion held by the executive committee before adopting the statement on Monday, John Foster Dulles declared that it was hard to think of any war so stupid as one btween this country and Russia would be. "It would settle absolutely nothing, except to give . . . the Soviet Union a greater opportunity to spread Communist propaganda," he said, and he called upon the churches to "change the mood of the American people" by putting into their minds a realization of the alternatives to war. Moderator La Roe warned of the "military domination in Washington," and John Howland Lathrop of Brooklyn declared: "The American people are not drifting toward war; they have been directed into this war mood."

Other actions taken by the executive committee included the decision to hold the next biennial meeting of the council at Cincinnati Dec. 1-3, election of H. H. Kalas to direct the National Christian Teaching Mission (in cooperation with the International Council of Religious Education), adoption of a resolution urging Congress to vote favorably on the proposed World Health Organization, and authorization of favorable testimony at the coming congressional hearings on continuance of the reciprocal trade agreements.

• • •

Churchwomen to Conduct Drive for Peace

A nationwide drive to seek the support of 1,000,000 American women for peace was announced Tuesday by the United Council of Church Women. Its slogan: "Act Now — Mobilize for Peace." The council has sent commitment pledge cards to its 20,000 local units and to other interdenominational groups. "Our goal is at least 1,000,000 cards signed and returned to national headquarters by June 15," announces Mrs. Harper Sibley, president of the council. "We are asking women to make telephone and personal calls to their neighbors and friends." The signed cards will be used to "let the President, Congress, the state department and the U.N. know that Christian women are convinced that the 'cold war' must be prevented from breaking into a 'hot war'."

• • •

Congregationalists Ask 'Caution on Russia'

On Tuesday the Congregational Christian council for social action issued a statement urging that American policies with respect to Russia steer clear of both appeasement and anti-Russian hysteria. "Recent events in Europe indicate the danger that totalitarianism may continue to grow that democracy may be extinguished," the statement warns. "Contemporary events within the United States indicate another danger: that our own nation will so concentrate on military preparations, and on defensive action, that it will fail to take positive and constructive steps for the reinvigoration of democracy and the achievement of real peace."

• • •

Lutherans Will Help Rebuild Churches in Norway

Plans for rebuilding churches, chapels, parsonages and parish houses in war-devastated areas of northern Norway were approved by the administrative body of the U.S. committee for the Lutheran World Federation at a meeting here last week. Chairman Bonnevie-Svendsen of the Church of

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Norway's reconstruction committee told the group it is hoped that work on church buildings in Finmark will get under way this year. Of Finmark's 49 churches, 26 were completely destroyed during the war, and all the vicarages and "church cabins" were burned down. The U.S. committee voted a grant of $100,000 to be applied against the $220,000 total cost of the reconstruction project, and voted to forward the balance upon request of the Norwegian committee. An additional $45,000 was placed to the Church of Norway's credit for other reconstruction programs.

* * *

C.W.S. Shipments Aid Both Europe and Asia

People in more than 30 European and Asiatic countries were aided by the 500 shipments of food, clothing, medicine and supplies which Church World Service, coordinating relief agency of the major American Protestant and Orthodox church groups, sent abroad during the first three months of 1948. The 16,000,000 pounds of supplies had a total value of $5,500,000. Of the foodstuffs, 8,000,000 pounds were accounted for by the Abraham Lincoln friendship train project sponsored by CROP (Christian Rural Overseas Program). Several thousand dollars' worth of drugs and other medical supplies went to stock mission hospitals and equip mobile units in disease-ridden areas of India. Hundreds of pounds of garden seeds were sent to both Europe and Asia.

* * *

CARE Gifts Tripled In 1947

Three times as many orders were filled by CARE (Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe) during 1947 as in the previous year, Paul Comly French, director of the agency, revealed in his report this week to the board of directors. By the end of the year, more efficient purchasing, processing and delivering methods were enabling the office at 50 Broad St., New York, to handle 15,000 orders daily. A total of 2,608,106 food and textile packages was delivered to persons in 17 European countries during the year.

* * *

And So Forth

The Protestant Episcopal Church's relief drive for $1,000,000 has been oversubscribed by $107,000.

The third anniversary of Alcoholics Anonymous was observed May 3 with a dinner at the Knickerbocker hospital, a pioneer in the treatment of acute alcholism as a disease. A spokesman for the hospital's board of trustees said it was "very gratified" with the results obtained in the treatment of more than 3,000 alcoholic patients during the past three years with the cooperation of Alcoholics Anonymous. He declared that 65 to 75 per cent of the patients treated at the hospital have become sober, self-respecting, industrious citizens.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Urge Christian Political Ends

In London Meeting Government, Church Leaders Call for Unified Action on Western European Union

LONDON, April 27.—A call "to save the soul of Western civilization" was sounded Sunday by Sir Stafford Cripps and Lord Halifax at the meeting held in Albert Hall to promote unity between Protestants and Roman Catholics in support of western European union. "We must not only employ democratic methods," said Sir Stafford, "but we must use them for Christian ends. The freedom and justice which our Christian faith demands must be explicit in the actions of our community, whether in the international, national or local sphere." Other speakers were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Moderator Evans of the Free Church Council and Roman Catholic Cardinal Griffin. Messages from Prime Minister Attlee and Winston Churchill were read.

* * *

Palestine Missions Evacuated

British missionaries have been evacuated from Palestine and hospital buildings there are now under the control of the International Red Cross. The Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem remains, having elected to stay as long as possible. His house and cathedral are protected by barbed wire. With him are a number of his clergy who seek to conduct a "ministry of reconciliation" between Arabs and Jews. Anxiety over the fate of Jewish Christians in Palestine is being expressed in London. They are regarded as traitors to the national cause by other Jews and are threatened by Arabs as belonging to the opposite camp. Help for these Jewish Christians is being offered by the Ecumenical Refugee Commission and the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews.

* * *

Visiting Bishops Will Speak

Teams of four or five bishops from the overseas areas of the Anglican Church, here for the Lambeth conference, will visit the English dioceses in May and June. On each team will be one native prelate—the Maori bishop of Aotearoa, the West Indian bishop of Jamaica, the Indian bishop of Assam, the Ceylonese assistant bishop of Colomo, the West African bishop of Lagos, the Japanese bishops of Kobe and Osaka, or the Chinese bishop of Fukien. American Episcopal bishops from the Northern Indiana, Indianapolis and Idaho dioceses will also take part. There will be 89 visiting bishops in all.

* * *

Royal Couple Celebrate Anniversary

The king and queen celebrated their silver wedding anniversary recently.

The obvious sincerity and personal happiness of the royal couple is to a great extent responsible for the genuine affection which is given them on all sides. The nation likes to see private life and public life governed by such standards, and the British crown is secure today because the king and queen hold to their high ideals of conduct.

* * *

And So Forth

A guide called *Plain Words* has been issued by the treasury to encourage short sentences, simple words and clarity in official correspondence. The booklet may have some interest for users of English in the United States and can be had from the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York city.

A new colleague, W. G. Onions, a Canadian, will soon join Leslie Weatherhead at the City Temple, London.

Newton Flew, former Methodist president, is on a lecture tour of Australia.

The Methodist Order of Deaconesses reports a record entry at its Ilkley College.

CECIL NORTHCOTT.

George Carstairs is Dead

Church of Scotland Leader Was Long a Christian Century Correspondent

EDINBURGH, April 27.—George Carstairs, for many years staff correspondent of The Christian Century for Scotland, died this week in Edinburgh at the age of 68. Widely known as wit, journalist and missionary, Dr. Carstairs served for 30 years in India, where he won the coveted Kaiser-i-Hind medal. After retirement he was appointed editor of *Life and Work*, the monthly magazine of the Church of Scotland. His intelligent and balanced editorial notes were always valuable. Dr. Carstairs served as an officer in India during the First World War. In 1940 he enlisted as a combatant in the Home Guard and rose from private to non-commissioned officer.

* * *

Missionaries Are Cut Off

Church of Scotland missionaries in Mukden, Manchuria, cut off from the outside world by Communist encirclement, have been left free to decide what to do in case the city capitulates. The question they will have to face is whether they can retain control of church hospitals and colleges if the Communists take the city. If that should happen, these institutions may be commandeered, and the 12 missionaries will have to decide how far work under such circumstances is possible. Among those involved are several women.

* * *

New Journal Appears

A new Scottish journal of theology will make its appearance in June. Its

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- Elizabeth Wray Taylor, formerly YWCA secretary, University of Rochester
- Helen Chappell White, author, Emory University's president's wife
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- Ruth Swanberg Rholfe, formerly president of the National YWCA Business and Professional Council and Assembly

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- Jean Beaven Abernethy, professor of courses in Sociology, Marriage and the Family
- Rose Terlin, Executive Editor of the *Woman's Press*
- Josephine W. Johnson, artist-writer, Pulitzer Prize Winner (*Now In November*)
- Maude Royden Shaw, sometime pastor of City Temple, London; editor of *The Common Cause*
- Bonaro W. Overstreet, nationally known in the fields of psychology and adult education
- Blanche H. Dow, poet-author-translator-educator
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purpose will be "to promote within the church the theological study of its foundation in the word of God according to the Reformed faith, and clarify its testimony in its worship, life and work." Editors are T. F. Torrence of Aberdeen and J. K. S. Raid of Edinburgh. The management committee is headed by G. S. Hendry of Bridge of Allan. T. M. Murchison of Glasgow is secretary.

* * *

Bishops Visit Scotland

Scotland will be visited this summer by a number of Anglican bishops from overseas who will come here prior to the Lambeth conference in England. One American bishop, R. A. Kirchhoffer of the Indianapolis diocese, will be among them. There will also be representatives from Canada, Australia, India and South Africa. The bishops will speak at an Usher hall meeting in Edinburgh in June. Lord Provost A. H. A. Murray will preside.

* * *

And So Forth

During the past year 5,228 baptisms were reported for the total Edinburgh membership of the Church of Scotland, an increase of 10 per cent over the previous year. The number of elders is 3,821 and of other office-holders 2,046, an increase in both cases. Of the total 135,000 membership, 65 per cent took communion at least once this year.

Robert J. Drummond, senior minister of Lothian Road, Edinburgh, and chaplain to the king, has become "father" of the Church of Scotland on the death of John Bruce. Dr. Drummond, a former moderator of the General Assembly, is in the best of mental and physical health. He occasionally preaches, always to the enjoyment of his hearers, and is still active as a committeeman.

INNES LOGAN.

German Protestant Journal Has 100,000 Circulation

The new German Evangelical weekly *Sonntagsblatt* now has a circulation of 100,000. It treats not only church and theological questions but discusses current events from a religious viewpoint. Paper for the publication is supplied by the U.S. national committee of the Lutheran World Federation. The license for the paper is issued to Bishop Hans Lilje; the chief editor is H. Zehrer.

* * *

Missionaries Leave Central China Posts

Forty Protestant missionaries whose stations lie in the path of advancing Communist armies in central China were recently flown out of Laohokow in the "St. Paul," the airplane operated by the Lutheran World Federation.

* * *

Burma S.C.M. Sponsors Co-op Store

The Burma Student Christian Movement, consisting of three unions with a total membership of 150, has started a cooperative store for students. It promotes a program of worship, study and discussion, and provides choirs and speakers for churches near the campuses.

Veterans Break Up J. W. Parade

Violence Grows out of Protest Against Use of Schoolhouse by Sect on Basis of Its Pacifism

HUNTINGTON, W. VA., May 7.—Violence broke out recently when representatives of several veterans' organizations picketed a meeting of Jehovah's Witnesses held in a Parkersburg, W. Va., schoolhouse. The veterans had protested use of the public building by "conscientious objectors who would put the welfare of their own group above that of the country in time of war." When the national anthem was played over a loudspeaker stationed near the school and marching members of the sect did not remove their hats, the picketing veterans, dressed in service uniforms, snatched their hats from their heads. The resulting disturbance was quelled by police swinging their clubs, and several persons were sent to the hospital with minor inquiries.

* * *

Methodist Women Oppose U.M.T.

The Northeastern jurisdiction of the Methodist Woman's Society for Christian Service, meeting here recently with more than 300 delegates from 10 states attending, adopted a strong resolution in opposition to any plan for peacetime military conscription. It urged that instead Congress consider a civilian service plan by which young men and women would be sent abroad to assist in reconstruction efforts and "spread democracy along with Marshall plan money." Declaring that there is still a chance for peace, the resolution urged vigorous protest against "war talk," the combating of hysteria and the support of U.N. actions. The delegates also went on record as approving the President's report on civil liberties, advocating jury duty as an opportunity for women to perform useful public service, and demanding protection of the rights of Alaskan Indians. In his keynote address to the meeting, Methodist Bishop James H. Straughn of the Pittsburgh area, appealed for greater unity among Protestants.

* * *

West Virginia's Christian Workers Attend Meeting

"In many communities sectarian Protestantism is the most divisive influence," J. Quinter Miller of the Federal Council staff told the state convocation of Christian workers held recently under the auspices of the West Virginia council of churches. Dr. Miller declared that increase of cooperation at the community level as shown in the growth of state, city and county councils of churches is the most significant development in Protestantism today. Three times as many such units are now in existence as there

were 10 years ago, he pointed out. George D. Heaton, pastor of the Myers Park Baptist Church, Charlotte, N.C., urged strengthening the local church as the basis for effective cooperation with other groups. He described the plan in operation in his church: parents attend monthly Bible study and learn to teach their children at home.

• • •

Stewardship Meeting Reveals Divergent Views

More than 40 representatives of major Protestant denominations in this country and Canada attended the annual spring meeting of the United Stewardship Council, held April 16-18, at Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville. In public comments on the President's civil rights report, delegates expressed divergent opinions. Stanley Stuber, director of public relations for the Northern Baptist Convention, urged that churches support the report, insisting that the questions involved should be lifted above politics and placed on a religious and social basis. "Racial segregations has no place within the Christian church," he said. A sourthern churchman's view was presented by J. G. Patton, Jr., of Atlanta, secretary of stewardship for the Presbyterian Church, U.S. Said he: "I think every Christian agrees with the things for which President Truman is asking, but . . . many of the best people in the south think that the attempt to force them will put off rather than hasten their accomplishment."

• • •

Pruden Warns Pastors of Danger in Neutrality

"Strategies of Christian World Conquest" was the theme of the annual pastors' conference sponsored by Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville. Lecturers were John A. Mackay, president of Priceton Theological Seminary; Claude Bowen, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Jackson, Miss.; Solon B. Cousins of the Bible department at the University of Virginia; Edward H. Pruden, pastor of First Baptist Church, Washington, D.C.; and Everett Gill, Jr., Southern Baptist foreign missions secretary for Latin America.

• • •

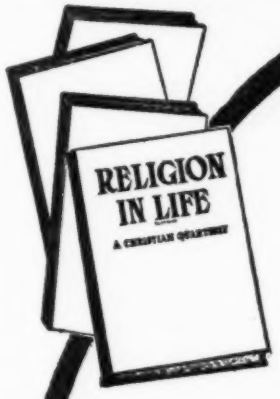
And So Forth

For the first time in history, a Negro layman has been elected moderator of the Presbyterian, U.S., Louisville presbytery. He is Randall Acton, an elder in Grace Presbyterian Church. Three years ago a Negro pastor was chosen moderator, also for the first time.

Meeting in Owensboro, Ky., for its annual convention, the South Indiana synod of the Evangelical and Reformed church voted unanimously in favor of the proposed merger of the denomination with the Congregational Christian Churches. In attendance were 144 pastors and laymen representing 105 churches in Kentucky, Indiana, Alabama, Illinois and Tennessee.

J. MAURICE TRIMMER.

Summer 1948



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Evangelicals Will Have Own Schools

Fundamentalist Association Votes for National System on a Parochial Pattern—Seeks Radio Time

CHICAGO, May 7.—With "The Faith for Freedom" as its theme, the sixth annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals met here this week to count the gains in its drive to become spokesman for fundamentalist groups within Protestantism. According to convention leaders, this goal has already been reached in many fields. "Protestantism is no longer going to be represented by one liberal body," asserted James D. Murch, editor of *United Evangelical Action*, the association's publication. "It will in the future be represented by two cooperative organizations, the Federal Council and the N.A.E." However, nothing at this convention indicated that any degree of cooperation between the two bodies is impending.

To Establish 'Christian' Schools

Among the projects discussed at the convention, the most important was the association's program to encourage the establishment of "Christian" day schools. The movement has been spurred by the Supreme Court's decision in the Campaign case. Insisting that God's will requires that all studies be religiously integrated, Mark Fakkema, the association's education director, asserted that "we must have nothing less than Christian schools." About 150 schools sponsored by association-connected groups are already in existence, largely in the central states. It was predicted that 100 more would be in operation by the end of the current year. The annual cost of such institutions is estimated at about $125 per pupil in elementary schools and $150 in high schools. Half the cost is obtained from tuition fees; the balance comes from dues collected by sponsoring bodies, from church offerings and from private donations. The schools are locally controlled, only advisory functions being exercised by the national office of the association. Spokesmen of the N.A.E. are emphatic in stating that fundamentalist teachings are the basic requirement for all religious groups which seek to cooperate in the educational program.

Form Cooperative Press

Thirty editors from fundamentalist periodicals met Wednesday to consider a cooperative program. Charging that the Associated Church Press is "too liberal in general policy and attitude to be of much help to evangelical editors," they laid the groundwork for an organization of their own. Letters from 30 additional journalists, not present, pledged support to the new body. The general plan is for a departmentalized type of service which will give special help to missionary, youth and religious education magazines. Some editors outside the N.A.E. were represented, among them members of Baptist and Lutheran bodies.

The association's commission on industrial chaplaincy reported that its endeavors are, for the time being, "static." Committee heads say they have found manufacturers "skittish" over entering into any contract with industrial chaplains." Labor, too, has been hard to bring into line. "We want to get labor's viewpoint," explained J. Elgin Wright of Boston, "but it is difficult to find men high in the counsels of labor who are sympathetic to the evangelical position." The 10 chaplains now working under the commission are, for the most part, regarded as plant officials handling personnel problems.

Recognition Being Attained

The N.A.E. commission on radio reported improved relations with the National Association of Broadcasters and with the radio industry in general. Hope was expressed that a new religious broadcasting code might be obtained which would grant members of the association more time on sustaining broadcasts over national hookups. Progress in obtaining recognition in other fields was reported. It was asserted that the state department and the office of the chief of chaplains have recognized the N.A.E. as "an agency which represents a major group of churches and denominations."

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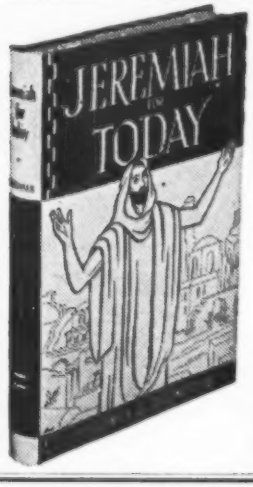

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Delegates attended from the 26 member denominations, all of which represent the theologically conservative wing of American Protestantism. Twenty-six additional denominations were represented by individual ministers and laymen who have affiliated with the N.A.E. Membership in the association does not require the severance of ties with established church bodies which do not, as a whole, adhere to fundamentalist doctrines.

GEORGE H. BIRNEY.

The Church Roll

Arthur T. Mosher, for 15 years a Presbyterian agricultural missionary in India, has been named to succeed the late John L. Goheen as principal of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, Allahabad, India. The school was founded 40 years ago by Sam Higginbottom, who retired in 1944.

Arthur Carl Piepkorn, a Lutheran minister, has been appointed commandant of the army and air force chaplain school at Carlisle Barracks, Pa. During the war Mr. Piepkorn served on the faculty of the chaplain school when it was located at Harvard University. Later he was named chief chaplain of the 23rd corps, and after V-E Day he became chief of the chaplain section for the European theater.

Mrs. Helena B. Kruger, Pennsylvania farm wife who for the past year and a half has been working among refugees in her native Austria for the Brethren Service Committee, has been named by the relief agency to represent it at the meeting this month in Prague of the Institute for International Collaboration in Agriculture and Forestry.

Edwin A. Moll, who has been in Palestine for 18 months as the representative of the U.S. national committee for the Lutheran World Federation, is returning to this country, since hostilities in the Holy Land have made it impossible for him to carry on his work for the federation. He reports that it has been necessary to close such schools, orphanages and hospitals as have not already been taken over by Haganah.

Erik W. Modean, secretary of the National Lutheran Council's department of public information, has been elected president of the National Religious Publicity Council.

Among the leaders announced for this year's Northfield Missionary Conference, to be held at East Northfield, Mass., June 25-July 2, are Henry S. Leiper of the World Council of Churches, Charles T. Leber of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., and Truman Douglass of the Congregational Christian Churches. The conference is sponsored by the Foreign Missions Conference, the Home Missions Council, the Missionary Education Movement and the United Council of Church Women.

Methodist Bishops Theodor Arvidson of Scandinavia and J. W. Ernst Sommer of Germany, now on a visit to the United States, were awarded honorary D.D.'s at Albion College, Albion, Mich., April 14.

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Prepared by Independent Filmscores

The Bride Goes Wild (MGM) *Comedy.* Small-town teacher wins contest to illustrate latest juvenile book by popular author, discovers he is given to drink and irresponsibility, in spite of her own qualms and his aversion to reform arouses his better nature with help of delinquent orphan, finally becomes his wife. Use of "cute" drinking episodes regrettable device. Slapstick rather than comedy; before the end, becomes *mainly boring.* **M,Y**

Ruthless (Eagle Lion) Drama. The progress of a heel, from sordid childhood through series of advances gained by ruining his friends, to final undoing after he has attained mastery of a huge utilities empire. An *ambitious* film, with constructive moral implications. Misses being entirely convincing because of *loose direction,* scattered plot elements. **M,Y**

Torment (Swedish film) *Drama.* The case studies of a sadistic teacher in Stockholm boys' school, and of the two young poeple whose lives are made unbearable by his machinations. Film, which won first prize in 1946. Cannes festival, many honors in Sweden, is *somber,* depressing, *impressive* in its subtle character portrayal and photography, which convey feeling of panic, at times even of horror. **M**

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

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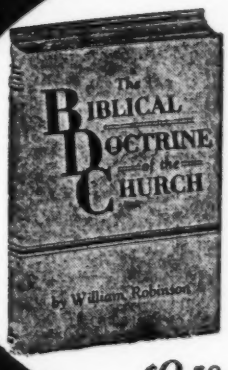

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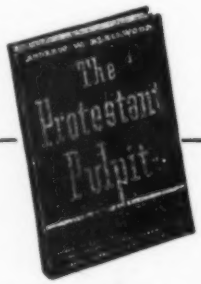

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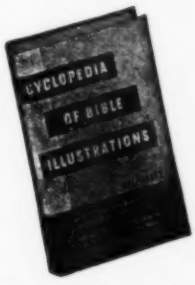

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